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ABSTRACT

This volume is divided into two parts. Part one consists of 12 Agutaynen language texts, accompanied by a foreword, introduction, and a list of abbreviations. Part two consists of one scholarly article, "Child Giving and Child Receiving in a Lowland Philippine Society," by Gail R. Hendrickson and Melissa S. Melvin. Agutaynen speakers number around 10,000, constituting approximately 2% of the population of their native Palawan province. Agutaynen Island, together with its surrounding islets, is the homeland of the Agutaynens. The island is approximately 15 square kilometers, and the population of the island is roughly 96% Agutaynen. Seven of the 12 texts in this collection were recorded on audio tape, and five were written by native speakers of the language. They were written and narrated at the request of the compiler between 1984 and 1989, with the exception of the last text, by Hendrickson and Melvin, which was written in 1991. Numerous tables, figures, and indexes are included. (KFT)

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES & CULTURES

Volume 11

Number 1

1999

STUDIES IN AGUTAYNEN

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Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures (formerly *Studies in Philippine Linguistics*) is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Linguists engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages and cultures are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

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STUDIES IN AGUTAYNEN

PART I

Compiles by J. Steve Quakenbush

PART II

Gail R. Hendrickson and Melissa S. Melvin

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES & CULTURES

Volume 11, Number 1, 1999

LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF THE PHILIPPINES

SUMMER INSTITUTE OF LINGUISTICS

- MANILA -

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PART I

Agutaynen Texts

compiled by

J. Stephen Quakenbush

Summer Institute of Linguistics

Foreword

Ong aggalangen ang manigbasa:

Dorong kalilipayen amen ang mapagbolontad tang mga bitalang gasolat ong librong narin agod papaga-penen ong gropo tang mga librong agganingen Studies In Philippine Linguistics. Galipay ami ang mapasolat tang gege-ley ang mga tikstong narin para ong mga oring timpong komabot, agod ang maski sinopay magbasa ta na ong mo-yang kaneman, maita na ta masinlo ang tatang litrato tang yamen ang koltora ig bitala, ang yay ang natawan amen ong doro kasinlong islang agmalen amen ta mo-ya—Agutayan. Ong tanan ang manigbasa, maning amen "Mambeng ang Pagbasa!" Piro ong mga namagboat tang librong narin, ba-lo ra tang pasalamat. Taben isipen nira ang anda ray otang ta nem amen. Tenged ong kamatodan, indi malipatan amen sia mintras ang librong na mabasa pa.

To the reader:

It is with great pleasure that we endorse these texts for inclusion in the series Studies in Philippine Linguistics. We are happy to be able to record this small sample of texts for posterity, and hope it will provide a window through which all who read with good will may appreciate a view of our own unique language and culture, centered on our most beautiful and beloved island of Agutaya. To those who read, we say "Happy Reading!" To the publishers of this volume, we will not yet say "Thank you," for that might seem to put an end to our debt of gratitude, which in reality will continue as long as this book can be read.

Signed,

Walfredo "Fred" Evio Aban
Yaming Mga Agutaynen, Founder
Tribal Chieftain

March 1994
Puerto Princesa

Introduction

Agutaynen speakers number around 10,000, constituting about 2% of the population of their native Palawan province. Agutaya Island, together with its surrounding islets, is the homeland of the Agutaynens. The island is approximately 15 square kilometers, located 30 kilometers north of Cuyo Island. The municipality of Agutaya is 96% Agutaynen. There are also several Agutaynen communities on the main island of Palawan, most notably in San Vicente, Roxas and Brooke's Point municipalities.*

Seven of the twelve texts in this collection were recorded on audio tape and five were written by native speakers of the language. They were narrated and written at the request of the compiler during periods of residence in Palawan from 1984 to1989 with the exception of the last text, which was elicited by Gail Hendrickson in 1991.

The narrators or writers are listed at the beginning of each text. Cultural explanations accompany some of these credits. Cultural and other explanatory notes are also added as footnotes by the compiler. The first line of each text presents the text in the practical alphabet; the second adds morpheme boundaries and is a morphophonemic transcription; the third is a morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. A free translation accompanies each page of text.

I am grateful to JoAnne Shetler for her helpful suggestions on the cultural notes, and Hazel Wrigglesworth, Mary Ruth Wise, Grace Tan and Rex Johnson for help in getting this manuscript printworthy. The friendship of the Agutaynen community and their eagerness to see the collection in print has been a great source of encouragement. I am particularly indebted to research assistant Pedrito Labrador — energetic companion and skillful instructor in all things Agutaynen. And I am forever indebted to Mr. and Mrs. Bienvenido Pacho, my first Agutaynen "parents". I wish to dedicate this text collection to the memory of Mr. Pacho — Tay Ben.

Steve Quakenbush
August 1999

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* For a detailed discussion of language classification, language use and aspects of the sociolinguistic situation among the Agutaynen, see John Stephen Quakenbush, *Language Use and Proficiency in a Multilingual Setting: A Sociolinguistic Survey of Agutaynen Speakers in Palawan*, Linguistic Society of the Philippines Special Monograph No. 28, 1989. Manila: Linguistic Society of the Philippines.

Abbreviations

1	first person[1]
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	abilitative aspect[2]
ADJ	adjectivizer
AF	actor focus[3]
CAUS	causative
COMP	complementizer
CONCESS	concessive particle
CV	reduplication
D1, D2, D3	deictic pronouns (1 proximal, 2 medial, 3 distal)
DEF	definite genitive noun phrase marker
DELIB	deliberative 'do you suppose'
DESID	desiderative 'I hope that'
DIMIN	diminutive
DIR	directional
E	exclusive
EXP	'as expected' particle
F	full pronominal form
G	genitive pronominal form
GEN	genitive noun phrase marker
GF	goal focus
I	inclusive
IMP	imperfective
INF	infinite, irrealis
INST	instrument
INTENS	intensifier
INTJ	interjection
INV	inverse order marker
ITER	iterative
LKR	linker
LOC1, LOC2, LOC3	location words (1 proximal, 2 medial, 3 distal)
MNL	meaningless
NEG1	verbal negative
NEG2	adjectival negative
NEG3	nominal negative

---

[1] Pronominal forms are glossed as follows: person number (inclusive/exclusive) case. For example, 1S.T = first person singular topic form and 1PI.G = first person plural inclusive genitive form.

[2] The verbal affixes are glossed in the following order: aspect, (plural), (abilitative), focus. For example, IMP, ABL, AF = imperfective, abilitative, actor focus.

[3] The verbal affixes glossed AF (actor focus), GF (goal focus), RF (referential focus) could alternatively be glossed as marking the following constructions: antipassive/intransitive clause, ergative, and applicative, respectively. Or they could be glossed as marking the semantic role of the absolutive noun phrase as Agent/Theme, Theme, and Location, respectively.

NLR	nominalizer
O	oblique pronominal form
OBL	oblique noun phrase marker
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal marker
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
PM	personal marker
PMP	personal marker plural
PRO	anaphoric pronoun
Q	question marker
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REL	relativizer
REQ	request
RF	referential focus
RS	reported speech
S	singular
SIM	simultaneous
SOC	social
STAT	stative
SUPER	superlative
SURP	surprise particle
T	topic pronominal form or personal marker
TAG	tag question
TOP	topic noun phrase marker[4]
V	vowel
=	morpheme boundaries
...	discontinuous morphemes

[4] The noun phrase case marker glossed as '(TOP) Topic' could alternatively be glossed as 'Absolutive' or 'Subject', depending on the perspective of the linguist.

Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures
Volume 11, Number 1, pp. 7–31

Ang Taw ang Katian
The Wild Chicken Man

This traditional narrative was told for the researcher on audiotape, and later transcribed and minimally edited.[1] It was told by Mr. Cedronio Pacho of Roxas, Palawan in 1984; at that time he was in his sixties. "The Wild Chicken Man" exemplifies how both Spanish and American influences have made their mark on Agutaynen culture. The names of the three princess daughters — *Doña Juana, Doña Isabel,* and *Doña Maria* — are clearly Spanish in origin, as is the term of address used for the king, *Sinior Adi* 'Sir King'. The title character, "the wild chicken man", undergoes a transformation in this story, also taking on a Spanish name — *Don Juan.* As Don Juan becomes wealthier, his skin color becomes lighter (*mistiso*), and he adopts formal Western style dress (*amirikana*).

While this story shows the value Agutaynens place on fair skin as a mark of beauty and prestige, it also ridicules those who give primary importance to outward show. More important than physical wealth and beauty are humility, loyalty and perseverance. These qualities will in due course bring their own reward.

1. Mandian ang istoria ta, ang aran na ay tatang taw
mandian ang istoria ta ang aran na ay taata =ang taw
now TOP story 1PI.G TOP name 3S.G INV one =LKR person

ang katian.[2] 2. Ang taw ang asia ang ganingen
ang katian ang taw ang asia ang ag--en =aning
LKR wild.chicken TOP person LKR D2 LKR IMP,ABL,GF =say

katian ay indi gategbeng-tegbeng ta
katian ay indi gaa =tegbeng =REDUP ta
wild.chicken INV NEG1 IMP,ABL,AF =go.to.town =ITER GEN

lansangan. 3. Ang nandiang gistaran ay ong bokid ig ang
lansangan ang nandia =ang ag--an =istar ay ong bokid ig ang
town TOP 3S.O =LKR IMP,RF =live INV OBL hills and TOP

nandiang pamangan ay mga mano ang katian. 4. Ig
nandia =ang pamangan ay mga mano ang katian ig
3S.O =LKR food INV PL chicken LKR wild.chicken and

tanandia nataw ong bokid. 5. Indi mata-wanan
tanandia na =taw ong bokid indi ma--an =tako
3S.F PERF,STAT =person OBL hills NEG1 INF,ABL,RF =know

1. Now as for our story, its name is "The Wild Chicken Man".
2. Now this man called the wild chicken man didn't get into town much.

3. His home was in the hills and his food consisted of wild chickens.
4. And he came into being in the hills.

5. It isn't known whether he had (human) parents or not.

[1] By native speakers, not at the request of the researcher. The original was lost in the process.
[2] **katian** — This word is used here with double meaning. By itself it signifies a wild chicken. As a modifier for a man it conveys a 'wild' or unsophisticated 'man from the hills'.

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ang tanandia may ginikanan na osia anda. 6. Animan mandian,
ang tanandia may ginikanan na osia anda animan mandian,
COMP 3S.F exist parents 3S.G or NEG3 therefore now

ang taw ang asing katian ong bokid pagistar ay
ang taw ang asii =ang katian ong bokid pag =istar ay
TOP person LKR D3 =LKR wild.chicken OBL hills IMP,AF =live INV

6. So then, let's leave that chicken man who lives there in the hills (for the time being).

bayan ta. 7. Ibalik ta ong siodad ong
baya =an ta i =balik ta ong siodad ong
leave =INF,RF 1PI.G INF,GF =return 1PI.G OBL city OBL

tatang adi.
taata =ang adi
one =LKR king

7. Let's return (the story) to the city, to a certain king.

8. Mandian ong siodad ang asi may tatang adi ang mepet
mandian ong siodad ang asii may taata =ang adi ang meepet
now OBL city LKR D3 exist one =LKR king LKR old

8. Now in that city there was an old king.

da. 9. Anda ray katawa na. 10. Balo. 11. Ang
da anda ra =ay katawa na balo ang
already NEG3 already =INV spouse 3S.G widow(er) TOP

ading asia, komo gamepet da,
adi =ang asia komo gaa =meepet da
king =LKR D2 because IMP,STAT =old already

9. He no longer had a wife. 10. He was a widower. 11. This king, since he was growing older, wanted to marry off his three daughters.

galiliag da ang mga ana nang tolong
gaa =CV =liag da ang mga ana na =ang tolo =ang
IMP,STAT =PL =like already TOP PL child 3S.G =LKR three =LKR

bilog ang babay ay ipakatawa na ra. 12. Ang
bilog ang babay ay i =pa =katawa na ra ang
piece LKR female INV INF,GF =CAUS =spouse 3S.G already TOP

ana nang tolo, ang aran na si Doña Juana, Doña Isabel,
ana na =ang tolo ang aran na si Doña Juana Doña Isabel
child 3S.G =LKR three TOP name 3S.G PM.T Lady Juana Lady Isabel

12. His three daughters, their names were Doña Juana, Doña Isabel and Doña Maria.

ig si Doña Maria. 13. Mandian si Doña Maria ay ang
ig si Doña Maria mandian si Doña Maria ay ang
and PM.T Lady Maria now PM.T Lady Maria INV TOP

karian, agmalen ta mo-ya tang adi.
ka--an =ari ag--en =maal ta ma =o-ya tang adi
SUPER =younger IMP,GF =love GEN ADJ =well DEF king

13. Now Doña Maria was the youngest, and the king loved her dearly.

14. Mandian komo mepet da tang adi, naisip
mandian komo meepet da tang adi na =isip
now because old already TOP king PERF,ABL,GF =think

na nga tanandia gamepet da
na nga tanandia gaa =meepet da
3S.G COMP 3S.F IMP,STAT =old already

ipakatawa na ra tang mga ana na agod
i =pa =katawa na ra tang mga ana na agod
INF,GF =CAUS =spouse 3S.G already TOP PL child 3S.G so.that

kabotan pa ka nga tanandia mapagkalipay pa ong
kabot =an pa ka nga tanandia mapag =kalipay pa ong
reach =INF,RF yet EXP COMP 3S.F INF,ABL,AF =rejoice yet OBL

mga ana nang katawaen da.
mga ana na =ang katawa =en da
PL child 3S.G =LKR spouse =INF,GF already

14. Now since the king was old already, he thought since he was getting older, he would marry off his daughters, so that he might yet be able to celebrate his daughters getting married.

15. Ig mandian ang adi nagpapanaw ta ordin ong
ig mandian ang adi nag ' =pa =panaw ta ordin ong
and now TOP king PERF,AF =CAUS =walk GEN order OBL

bilog ang siodad ig mga inadian ang nandiang katepad,
bilog ang siodad ig mga inadian ang nandia =ang ka =tepad
whole LKR city and PL kingdom LKR 3S.O =LKR NLR =next.to

nga ganing ang sinopay galiliag ang
nga ga =aning ang sino =pa =ay gaa =CV =liag ang
LKR IMP,AF =say TOP who =Q =INV IMP,STAT =PL =like LKR

pasakep ong nandiang inadian para mangatawa
pa =sakep ong nandia =ang inadian para mang =katawa
CAUS =under.rule OBL 3S.O =LKR kingdom in.order INF,AF =spouse

15. Now the king issued an order throughout the whole city and to the neighboring kingdoms which said that whoever wanted to become part of his kingdom in order to marry his daughters should come to his kingdom.

ong ana na ay paning ong nandiang inadian. 16. Mandian
ong ana na ay paning ong nandia =ang inadian mandian
OBL child 3S.G INV go OBL 3S.O =LKR kingdom now

nagtirmino ta kaldaw nga, ong kaldaw ang asing
nag =tirmino ta kaldaw nga ong kaldaw ang asii =ang
PERF,AF =specify GEN day REL OBL day LKR D3 =LKR

Dominggo, ang tanan ang sinopay pasakep don ong
Dominggo ang tanan ang sino =pa =ay paa =sakep doon ong
Sunday TOP all LKR who =Q =INV CAUS =under.rule LOC3 OBL

16. Now he set a date that, on that Sunday, everyone who wanted to become part of his kingdom in order to marry his three daughters should come.

nandiang inadian, ong pagpakatawa ra tang mga ana
nandia =ang inadian ong pag =pa =katawa ra tang mga ana
3S.O =LKR kingdom OBL NLR =CAUS =spouse already DEF PL child

nang tolong bilog ay paning. 17. Imbitado tang tanan.
na =ang tolo =ang bilog ay paning imbitado tang tanan
3S.G =LKR three =LKR piece INV go invited TOP all

17. Everyone was invited.

18. Mandian kiminabot da tang kaldaw ang asing
mandian imin =kabot da tang kaldaw ang asii =ang
now PERF,AF =arrive already TOP day LKR D3 =LKR

tirmino na ay kaldaw ang Dominggo, Sabado pa lamang don
tirmino na ay kaldaw ang Dominggo Sabado pa lamang doon
specify 3S.G INV day LKR Sunday Saturday yet only LOC3

18. Now when the day he had set arrived, a Sunday, all the people were already there by Saturday.

da tang tanan ang taw. 19. May mga adi, mga prinsipi, mga
da tang tanan ang taw may mga adi mga prinsipi mga
already TOP all LKR person exist PL king PL prince PL

kondi, tanan-tanan, mga hiniral, tanan ang taw ang
kondi tanan =REDUP mga hiniral tanan ang taw ang
count all =INTENS PL general all LKR person LKR

19. There were kings, princes, counts, everybody — generals, all who were able, children, adults, everybody was there.

gaeged, mga mola, mga mepet, don dang tanan.[3]
ga =eged mga mola mga meepet doon da =ang tanan
IMP,STAT =able PL child PL old LOC3 already =LKR all

20. Pamagelat tang risolta tang sinopay
pamag =elat tang risolta tang sino =pa =ay
IMP,PL,AF =wait DEF result DEF who =Q =INV

galiliagan tang ana tang ading asing tolo.
ga--an =CV =liag tang ana tang adi =ang asii =ang tolo
IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like DEF child DEF king =LKR D3 =LKR three

20. They were waiting for the result to see who would be chosen by the king's three daughters.

21. Mandian kiminabot da tang pagaramal, kaldaw
mandian imin =kabot da tang paga =damal kaldaw
now PERF,AF =arrive already TOP after =morning day

21. Now on Sunday morning, the call[4] sounded at seven o'clock.

[3] The princes and counts probably reflect Spanish influence. The generals may reflect American influence from World War II days.
[4] Perhaps this call was played on drums and flutes, traditional instruments for Agutaynen fiesta performances.

ang Dominggo, ompisan alas siyete tang to-tog.
ang Dominggo ompisa =an alas siyete tang to-tog
LKR Sunday begin =INF,RF o'clock seven TOP sound

22. Pagompisa tang to-tog, tanan ang taw asi ra ong plasa
pag =ompisa tang to-tog tanan ang taw asii ra ong plasa
when =begin DEF sound all LKR person D3 already OBL plaza

tang inadian ang pagpaita tang nirang mga galing,
tang inadian ang pag =pa =ita tang nira =ang mga galing
DEF kingdom LKR IMP,AF =CAUS =see DEF 3P.O =LKR PL talent

istilo. 23. Ang tanan ang istilo agpaita nira balampang
istilo ang tanan ang istilo ag =pa =ita nira balampa =ang
style TOP all LKR style IMP,GF =CAUS =see 3P.G DESID =LKR

tanira maliliagan tang tolong soltirasan ang ana tang
tanira ma--an =CV =liag tang tolo =ang soltiras =an ang ana tang
3P.F IMP,RF =PL =like DEF three =LKR young.girl =PL LKR child DEF

adi.
adi
king

22. When the call sounded, all the people were assembled in the plaza of the kingdom showing off their talent and style.
23. They were showing off all their style in hopes that perhaps they would be chosen by the three single daughters of the king.

24. Mandian, ang asing doroang mga babayan da
mandian ang asii =ang doroa =ang mga babay =an da
now TOP D3 =LKR two =LKR PL female =PL PMP.T

Doña Juana, Doña Isabel komo naita ra tang nirang
Doña Juana Doña Isabel komo na =ita ra tang nira =ang
Lady Juana Lady Isabel because PERF,GF =see already TOP 3P.O =LKR

galiliagan, ang nirang bola pinlek da
ga--an =CV =liag ang nira =ang bola in =pelek da
IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like TOP 3P.O =LKR ball PERF,GF =throw already

24. Now those two women Doña Juana and Doña Isabel, since they had already seen who they wanted, they tossed their ball (i.e. made their choice).[5]

nira. 25. Mandian si Doña Juana ang pinlekan na
nira mandian si Doña Juana ang in-an =pelek na
3P.G now PM.T Lady Juana TOP PERF,RF =throw 3S.G

tatang adi. 26. Ig si Doña Isabel ang pinlekan na
taata =ang adi ig si Doña Isabel ang in-an =pelek na
one =LKR king and PM.T Lady Isabel TOP PERF,RF =throw 3S.G

25. Now the choice of Doña Juana (lit. the one she threw to) was a king.
26. And Doña Isabel's choice was a general.

[5] The daughters tossed a ball to the man of their liking to indicate they had made their choice. Readers of the story understand this, but do not claim to have seen anything like it before. As one reader explained, "Who knows what royal people in a far off kingdom might do?"

tatang hiniral. 27. Si Doña Maria indi pagintindi.
taata =ang hiniral si Doña Maria indi pag =intindi
one =LKR general PM.T Lady Maria NEG1 IMP,AF =attend.to

27. But Doña Maria wasn't paying any attention.

28. Ang nandiang bola indi pa ga-lek na, komo
ang nandia =ang bola indi pa ga =pelek na komo
TOP 3S.O =LKR ball NEG1 yet IMP,ABL,GF =throw 3S.G because

anda pay galiliagan na. 29. Ig mandian si
anda pa =ay ga--an =CV =liag na ig mandian si
NEG3 yet =INV IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like 3S.G and now PM.T

Doña Maria, doro kalolobay tang sinangoni na. 30. Indi
Doña Maria doro ka =CV =lobay tang sinangoni na indi
Lady Maria very INTENS =PL =slow DEF body 3S.G NEG1

pinlek na tang nandiang bola tenged ang nandiang
in =pelek na tang nandia =ang bola tenged ang nandia =ang
PERF,GF =throw 3S.G TOP 3S.O =LKR ball because TOP 3S.O =LKR

galiliagan indi pa gakabot don ong plasa
ga--an =CV =liag indi pa gaa =kabot doon ong plasa
IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like NEG1 yet IMP,ABL,AF =arrive LOC3 OBL plaza

28. She hadn't thrown her ball yet because there was no one she liked yet. 29. And so Doña Maria was really stalling (lit. her body was very slow). 30. She didn't throw her ball because the one she wanted had not yet arrived at the plaza of the kingdom.

tang inadian. 31. Mandian komo na-lek da
tang inadian mandian komo na =pelek da
DEF kingdom now because PERF,ABL,GF =throw already

asiang doroa ay may katawa na ra. 32. Ang aka adi, ang
asia =ang doroa ay may katawa na ra ang aka adi ang
D2 =LKR two INV exist spouse 3S.G already TOP older king TOP

yadoa hiniral.
ya =doroa hiniral
ORD =two general

31. Now since the ball had been thrown, those two had husbands already. 32. The older one had a king and the second a general.

33. Mandian natapos da tang tornio, ang adi
mandian na =tapos da tang tornio ang adi
now PERF,STAT =finish already TOP tournament TOP king

nagordin ong mga sondalo, ang ganing,
nag =ordin ong mga sondalo ang ga =aning
PERF,AF =order OBL PL soldier LKR IMP,AF =say

33. Now when the competition was over, the king ordered the soldiers, "Cover the entire city.

"Libotan tang kompormi nasakepan tang
libot =an tang kompormi na--an =sakep tang
go.around =INF,RF TOP conform PERF,ABL,GF =under.rule DEF

siodad. 34. Ang sinopay indi nategbeng
siodad ang sino =pa =ay indi naa =tegbeng
city TOP who =Q =INV NEG1 PERF,ABL,AF =go.to.town

ekelan, maski mepet dang indi ra
ekel =an maski meepet da =ang indi ra
bring =INF,RF even.though old already =LKR NEG1 already

mapanaw takanen, maski pilay, maski
maa =panaw takan =en maski pilay maski
INF,ABL,AF =walk carry =INF,GF even.though lame even.though

onopa."
ono =pa
what =Q

34. Whoever has not yet come to town bring, even if they are old and can't walk anymore, carry them, even if they are lame, no matter what."

35. Ig lagi-lagi ong madaling istoria ang mga
ig lagi =REDUP ong madali =ang istoria ang mga
and immediately =DIMIN OBL quickly =LKR story TOP PL

sondalo napanaw. 36. Inalig nira tang
sondalo na =panaw in =alig nira tang
soldier PERF,AF =walk PERF,GF =go.around 3P.G TOP

kabobokidan, natarakan nira asing
ka--an =CV =bokid na--an =tarak nira asii =ang
NLR =PL =hills PERF,ABL,RF =come.across 3P.G D3 =LKR

laling katian. 37. Pagloat, pambal,
lalii =ang katian pag =loat paang =baal
male =LKR wild.chicken IMP,AF =naked IMP,AF =g-string

anday lambong na. 38. Mandian kabotan nira, komo
anda =ay lambong na mandian kabot =an nira komo
NEG3 =INV clothes 3S.G now reach =INF,RF 3P.G because

indi nabantay asing laling katian, indi
indi naa =bantay asii =ang lalii =ang katian indi
NEG1 PERF,ABL,AF =watch D3 =LKR male =LKR wild.chicken NEG1

nasikad, nadep nira, ingkelan ong
naa =sikad na =deep nira in--an =ekel ong
PERF,ABL,AF =run PERF,ABL,GF =catch 3P.G PERF,RF =bring OBL

35. And right away, to make the story short, the soldiers left.
36. They went throughout the hills, and they came across the wild chicken man.

37. He was naked, he was wearing a G-string, he didn't have any clothes on.[6] 38. Now when they reached him, and since that chicken man wasn't watching, and he wasn't able to run away, they caught him, and took him to the city.

[6] This is the most striking of several instances of repetition for emphasis.

siodad. 39. Ganing ono tang laling katian ong mga
siodad ga =aning ono tang lalii =ang katian ong mga
city IMP,AF =say RS TOP male =LKR wild.chicken OBL PL

sondalo, "Anda kay talako. 40. Angay
sondalo anda ka =ay talak =o angay
soldier NEG3 EXP =INV sin =1S.G why

agpakomito tang Sinior Adi?" 41. Ganing ono
ag =paa =komit =o tang Sinior Adi ga =aning ono
IMP,GF =CAUS =get =1S.T DEF sir king IMP,AF =say RS

asing mga sondalo, "Basta yawa agpakomita ay
asii =ang mga sondalo basta yawa ag =paa =komit =a ay
D3 =LKR PL soldier just 2S.F IMP,GF =CAUS =get 2S.T INV

tomabida ong yamen." 42. Indi mandian, ay sanglit
om =tabid =a ong yamen indi mandian ay sanglit
INF,AF =accompany =2S.T OBL 1PE.O INTJ now INV because

geldan; lagi-lagi siminabid,
ga--an =eled lagi =REDUP imin =tabid
IMP,STAT =fear immediately =DIMIN PERF,AF =accompany

tatabid ong mga sondalo.
CV =tabid ong mga sondalo
IMP,AF =accompany OBL PL soldier

43. Pag kabot don ong inadian, agpampel-ampel
pag kabot doon ong inadian ag =pa =ampel =REDUP
when arrive LOC3 OBL kingdom IMP,GF =CAUS =hide =ITER

komo tanandia ay tatang taw ang indi gaita ta
komo tanandia ay taata =ang taw ang indi gaa =ita ta
since 3S.F INV one =LKR person LKR NEG1 IMP,ABL,AF =see GEN

domang taw. 44. Tambilog lamang ong bokid, indi
doma =ang taw tang =bilog lamang ong bokid indi
other =LKR person one =piece only OBL hills NEG1

galoa ta lansangan. 45. Mandian pag teled don ong
gaa =loa ta lansangan mandian pag teled doon ong
IMP,ABL,AF =out GEN town now when inside LOC3 OBL

kodal tang inadian, paga-led na don ong plasa tang inadian,
kodal tang inadian paga =teled na doon ong plasa tang inadian
fence DEF kingdom after =inside 3S.G LOC3 OBL plaza DEF kingdom

39. The chicken man said to the soldiers, "I haven't done anything wrong. 40. Why is His Majesty sending for me?"

41. The soldiers said, "You're just being taken so come along with us."

42. So now because the chicken man was afraid, he went right on along with the soldiers.

43. When they reached the kingdom, he was trying to hide himself because he was a person who had never seen other people.
44. He was just a lone man in the hills who never got out to town.
45. Now when they entered the gate of the kingdom, when they had come inside the plaza of the kingdom, Doña Maria perked up.

si Doña Maria nanga-sik.
si Doña Maria nang =a-sik
PM.T Lady Maria PERF,AF =alert

46. Asing ana tang adi asia
asii =ang ana tang adi asia
D3 =LKR child DEF king D2

46. The king's daughter started walking over in that direction.

rang papanaw-panaw.
ra =ang CV =panaw =REDUP
already =LKR IMP,AF =walk =ITER

47. Paga-led lamang ong
paga =teled lamang ong
after =inside only OBL

47. After she had entered the you-know,[7] the call sounded to begin the competition.

wan, ompisa tang tornio ang to-tog.
wan ompisa tang tornio ang to-tog
MNL begin TOP tournament LKR sound

48. Pag ompisa tang to-tog doro si atan ang taw ang
pag ompisa tang to-tog doro sii atan ang taw ang
when begin DEF sound many again LOC2 LKR person LKR

48. When the call sounded, once again there were many people there showing their stuff.

pagpaita tang nirang galing.
pag =pa =ita tang nira =ang galing
IMP,AF =CAUS =see DEF 3P.O =LKR talent

49. Ang asing taw
ang asii =ang taw
TOP D3 =LKR person

49. The chicken man just stayed to the side.

ang katian ong binit lamang.
ang katian ong binit lamang
LKR wild.chicken OBL side only

50. Indi tanandia
indi tanandia
NEG1 3S.F

50. He didn't pay any attention since he was afraid.

pagintindi, komo tanandia ay geldan.
pag =intindi komo tanandia ay ag--an =eled
IMP,AF =attend.to because 3S.F INV IMP,STAT =fear

51. Mandian ang asing doro ang istilo tang doro ang taw
mandian ang asii =ang doro ang istilo tang doro ang taw
now TOP D3 =LKR many LKR style DEF many LKR person

51. Now with all those handsome men with big titles — kings, counts, princes, generals, soldiers — Doña Maria made her choice (lit. threw her ball).

ang mababael tang obligasion nira, mga adi, mga kondis, prinsipi,
ang ma =CV =bael tang obligasion nira mga adi mga kondis prinsipi
LKR ADJ =PL =big TOP rank 3P.G PL king PL counts prince

mga hiniralis, mga sondalo, ang bola ni Doña Maria
mga hiniralis mga sondalo ang bola ni Doña Maria
PL generals PL soldier TOP ball PM.G Lady Maria

binanggil na ra.
in =banggil na ra
PERF,GF =throw 3S.G already

52. Pag banggil na, pinlek
pag banggil na in =pelek
when throw 3S.G PERF,GF =throw

52. When she threw her ball, she threw it over to the chicken man from the hills.

[7] Literally, **wan**, a meaningless element used as a filler when a word doesn't easily come to mind.

na don ong laling katian ang taga bokid.
na doon ong lalii =ang katian ang taga bokid
3S.G LOC3 OBL male =LKR wild.chicken LKR from hills

53. Sinagep tang lali ang asing taga bokid ang
in =sagep tang lalii ang asii =ang taga bokid ang
PERF,GF =catch DEF male LKR D3 =LKR from hills LKR

katian.
katian
wild.chicken

53. That chicken man from the hills caught it (the ball).

54. Mandian pagatagep, pagaita tang adi ang asi ang
mandian paga =tagep paga =ita tang adi ang asii ang
now after =catch after =see DEF king LKR D3 TOP

pinlekan na tang nandiang bola, tatang taw ang
in--an =pelek na tang nandia =ang bola taata =ang taw ang
PERF,RF =throw 3S.G TOP 3S.O =LKR ball one =LKR person LKR

lagem-lageman, pagloat, anday lambong na,
lagem =REDUP =an pag =loat anda =ay lambong na
dark =INTENS =NLR IMP,AF =naked NEG3 =INV clothes 3S.G

nadismaya, napatay tang adi. 55. Pagapatay tang
na =dismaya na =patay tang adi paga =patay tang
PERF,STAT =faint PERF,STAT =die TOP king after =die DEF

adi, ang asing doroang mga logod na da Doña Juana
adi ang asii =ang doroa =ang mga logod na da Doña Juana
king TOP D3 =LKR two =LKR PL sibling 3P.G PMP.T Lady Juana

ni Doña Isabel ay dorong kasisilagen nira ong
ni Doña Isabel ay doro =ang ka--en =CV =silag nira ong
PM.G Lady Isabel INV much =LKR NLR =PL =anger 3P.G OBL

ari nirang asing si Doña Maria. 56. Tenged
ari nira =ang asii =ang si Doña Maria tenged
younger 3P.G =LKR D3 =LKR PM.T Lady Maria because

ganing nagpaeyak da ong nira nga
ga =aning nag =pa =eyak da ong nira nga
IMP,AF =say PERF,AF =CAUS =shame already OBL 3P.O COMP

54. Now after the ball was caught, when the king saw that the one she had thrown her ball to was a very dark[8] skinned man who was naked, without any clothes on, the king keeled over and died.

55. After the king died, the two older sisters Doña Juana and Doña Isabel, they were extremely angry with that younger sister of theirs Doña Maria.

56. Because they said she had shamed them, that she being a princess had chosen a naked wild man from the hills.

[8] 'Dark' is practically synonymous with 'unattractive' or 'undesirable' in Agutaynen.

tanandia tatang prinsisa ang naliliagan na ay
tanandia taata =ang prinsisa ang na--an =CV =liag na ay
3S.F one =LKR princess LKR PERF,RF =IMP =like 3S.G INV

tatang taw ong bokid ang pagloat ig katian.
taata =ang taw ong bokid ang pag =loat ig katian
one =LKR person OBL hills LKR IMP,AF =naked and wild.chicken

57. Mandian komo soirti na, indi gibek-ibek tanandia.
mandian komo soirti na indi ga =ibek-ibek tanandia
now since luck 3S.G NEG1 IMP,AF =say.word 3S.F

57. Now since it was her fate, she didn't say a word.

58. Ang doroang mga aka nang mga babay may doroang
ang doroa =ang mga aka na =ang mga babay may doroa =ang
TOP two =LKR PL older 3S.G =LKR PL female exist two =LKR

koartong masisinlong aggistaran nira. 59. Ig ang
koarto =ang ma =CV =sinlo =ang ag--an =istar nira ig ang
room =LKR ADJ =PL =nice =LKR IMP,RF =live 3P.G and TOP

ni Doña Maria may asing katawa nang katian, ay
ni Doña Maria may asii =ang katawa na =ang katian ay
PM.G Lady Maria and D3 =LKR spouse 3S.G =LKR wild.chicken INV

58. Her two older sisters had very nice rooms they lived in.
59. And that of Doña Maria and her wild husband, they just lived out on the porch.

don lamang ong balkon. 60. Kada lomboa tang doroang mga
doon lamang ong balkon kada om =loa tang doroa =ang mga
LOC3 only OBL porch each INF,AF =out DEF two =LKR PL

logod nang mga babay, tagbengan, kada tenled
logod na =ang mga babay tagbeng =an kada em =teled
sibling 3S.G =LKR PL female kick =INF,RF each INF,AF =inside

60. Every time her two sisters went out they kicked them, and every time they went back inside, they kicked them.

tagbengan. 61. Mga pamangan, ang agto-dol ong nira
tagbeng =an mga paang =pangan ang agCV =torol ong nira
kick =INF,RF if IMP,AF =eat TOP IMP,GF =give OBL 3P.O

mga inogat. 62. Ang inogat yay agpapan ong nira.
mga inogat ang inogat ya =ay ag =paa =paan ong nira
PL scraps TOP scraps PRO =INV IMP,GF =CAUS =eat OBL 3P.O

61. When they ate, what they gave them was scraps.

62. Scraps was what they fed to them.

63. Mandian si Maria agoanta.
mandian si Maria agoanta
now PM.T Maria endure

63. Now Maria endured this.

64. Ang asing may pira rang kaldaw
ang asii =ang may pira ra =ang kaldaw
when D3 =LKR exist how.much already =LKR day

64. Then, not many days later, the chicken man said goodbye to

naglisinsia ra asing katian ong ni Maria
nag =lisinsia ra asii =ang katian ong ni Maria
PERF,AF =permission already D3 =LKR wild.chicken OBL PM.O Maria

ang ganing, "Yo moliko ra don ong
ang ga =aning yo m =olik =o ra doon ong
LKR IMP,AF =say 1S.F INF,AF =go.home =1S.T already LOC3 OBL

logaro, gapongawo ra,
logar =o gaa =pongaw =o ra
place =1S.G IMP,STAT =sad =1S.T already

naboayo ra." 65. Ganing ka onong
na =boay =o ra ga =aning ka ono =ang
PERF,STAT =long.time =1S.T already IMP,AF =say EXP RS =LKR

siminabat si Doña Maria, "Mga yawa molika
imin =sabat si Doña Maria mga yawa m =olik =a
PERF,AF =answer PM.T Lady Maria if 2S.F INF,AF =go.home =2S.T

ra, yo tomabido ka, maski ong ariapa
ra yo om =tabid ka maski ong ari =a =pa
already 1S.F INF,AF =accompany EXP no.matter OBL where =2S.T =Q

yo tomabid." 66. Ganing ono
yo om =tabid ga =aning ono
1S.F INF,AF =accompany IMP,AF =say RS

"Tomabida, ong kalawid tang
om =tabid =a ong ka =alawid tang
INF,AF =accompany =2S.T OBL INTENS =far DEF

gistarano ang taben india ka
ag--an =istar =o ang taben indi =a ka
IMP,RF =live =1S.G LKR perhaps NEG1 =2S.T EXP

makong magpanaw?" 67. Ganing ono,
maa =ako =ang mag =panaw ga =aning ono
INF,ABL,AF =able =LKR INF,AF =walk IMP,AF =say RS

"Maski alawid, kabotono." 68. Ta indi, panaw
maski alawid kabot =on =o ta indi panaw
even.though far reach =INF,GF =1S.G INTJ INTJ walk

tanirang doroa. 69. Si Doña Maria anda kay tsinilas na,
tanira =ang doroa si Doña Maria anda ka =ay tsinilas na
3P.F =LKR two PM.T Lady Maria NEG3 EXP =INV slippers 3S.G

Doña Maria, saying, "I'm going home now to my place, I'm sad, I've been here a long time."

65. And Doña Maria said in reply, "If you are going home, I'll go with you; wherever you go, I'll go with you."

66. He said, "You would go with me to my home so far away when you might not even be able to do the walking?"

67. She said, "Even if it is far, I'll make it."

68. And so, the two of them set out.

69. Doña Maria didn't have any slippers, since her slippers had also

komo ang tsinilas na kinomit ka tang mga aka na, mga
komo ang tsinilas na in =komit ka tang mga aka na mga
since TOP slippers 3S.G PERF,GF =get EXP DEF PL older 3S.G PL

been taken by her older sisters.

logod na. 70. Papanaw ong kakiriban
logod na CV =panaw ong ka--an =kirib
sibling 3S.G IMP,AF =walk OBL NLR =cogon.grass

galaba-laba mga ga-bek tang kakay
gaa =laba =REDUP mga ga =tebek tang kakay
IMP,ABL,AF =fall.over =ITER if IMP,ABL,GF =pierce TOP foot

70. She walked through the cogon grass, falling over when its sharp edges cut her feet.

na ta tola. 71. Mabangon, panaw si. 72. Ong kaloy tang Dios,
na ta tola ma =bangon panaw sii ong kaloy tang Dios
3S.G GEN edge after =get.up walk again OBL grace DEF God

nakabot ka tanira don ong nirang paningan,
naa =kabot ka tanira doon ong nira =ang paning =an
PERF,ABL,AF =arrive EXP 3P.F LOC3 OBL 3P.O =LKR go =INF,RF

don ong gistaran tang asing katian.
doon ong ag--an =istar tang asii =ang katian
LOC3 OBL IMP,RF =live DEF D3 =LKR wild.chicken

71. Once she had gotten up, she would walk again.
72. By the grace of God, they did reach their destination, the home place of the chicken man.

73. Mandian asing pagkabot nira, ong madaling istoria,
mandian asii =ang pag =kabot nira ong madali =ang istoria
now D3 =LKR when =arrive 3P.G OBL quickly =LKR story

ko-to ra, ganing ono si Doña Maria, "Katian,
ko-to ra ga =aning ono si Doña Maria katian
noon already IMP,AF =say RS PM.T Lady Maria wild.chicken

magdilema ra ta anen ta, agle-meno
mag =dilem =a ra ta anen ta ag--en =letem =o
INF,AF =search =2S.T already GEN food 1PI.G IMP,GF =hunger =1S.T

73. Now when they arrived, to make a long story short, it was already noon, and Doña Maria said, "Chicken man, look for something for us to eat, I'm hungry."

ra." 74. Ganing ono, "Tarina lamang."
ra ga =aning ono tarin =a lamang
already IMP,AF =say RS LOC1 =2S.T only

74. He said, "You wait here."

75. Ganing tang lali, "Magdilemo ra ta anen
ga =aning tang lalii mag =dilem =o ra ta anen
IMP,AF =say TOP male INF,AF =look.for =1S.T already GEN food

ta." 76. Dayon ang toldak don ong babakan tang bokid,
ta dayon ang toldak doon ong babak =an tang bokid
PI.G proceed LKR down.hill LOC3 OBL down =LOC DEF hills

75. The chicken man said, "I'll look for some food for us.
76. He proceeded to go straight down the mountain, maybe about fifty

sigoro ang kalawid na ong balay nira sigoro mga singkointa
sigoro ang ka =alawid na ong balay nira sigoro mga singkointa
maybe TOP NLR =far 3S.G OBL house 3P.G maybe PL fifty

obin bainti mitros.[9] 77. Dayon ang namanggil ta
obin bainti mitros dayon ang nang =banggil ta
or twenty meter proceed LKR PERF,PL,AF =throw GEN

doroang bilog ang katian ang mano, tale-ta nira.
doroa =ang bilog ang katian ang mano tale-ta nira
two =LKR piece LKR wild.chicken LKR chicken one.each 3P.G

78. Pag kabot, inimolmolan tang babay, linotok,
pag kabot in--an =molmol tang babay in =lotok
when arrive PERF,GF =pluck DEF female PERF,GF =cook

kindiaw. 79. Pagalotok ang na-yaw da,
in =kiaw paga =lotok ang na =kiaw da
PERF,GF =roast after =cook when PERF,ABL,GF =roast already

pinangan da tanira, tale-ta nirang bilog, doroa
in =pangan da tanira tale-ta nira =ang bilog doroa
PERF,GF =eat already 3P.F one.each 3P.G =LKR piece two

tanira.
tanira
3P.F

80. Mandian, pagapamangan nira, namagboat
mandian paga =paang =pangan nira namag =boat
now after =IMP,AF =eat 3P.G PERF,PL,AF =make

da ta balay nirang ge-ley, ang istaran nira, ang
da ta balay nira =ang ge-ley ang istar =an nira ang
already GEN house 3P.G =LKR small TOP live =INF,RF 3P.G TOP

lo-gan nira mga labi. 81. Asing pagapon si,
lobog =an nira mga labi asii =ang pag =apon sii
lie.down =RF 3P.G if night D3 =LKR when =afternoon again

pagaramal ya si, nandep si tang katian ta
paga =damal ya sii nang =deep sii tang katian ta
after =day PRO again PERF,AF =catch again TOP wild.chicken GEN

or twenty meters from their house.

77. He proceeded to stone two wild chickens, one apiece.

78. When he arrived home, the woman plucked and roasted the chickens. 79. After they were done, when they were roasted already, they ate them, the two of them each had a whole chicken.

80. Now after they had eaten, they made themselves a little house to live in, to sleep in at night.

81. The next day, in the afternoon the chicken man caught their food again.

[9] **mitros** — a modern element. Traditionally this measurement would be stated in terms of **depa** or armspans.

anen nira. 82. Mandian don ong pagpandep na, ang
anen nira mandian doon ong pag =panag =dep na ang
food 3P.G now LOC3 OBL NLR =IMP,AF =catch 3S.G TOP

katian binanggil na tang mano. 83. Pag
katian in =banggil na tang mano pag
wild.chicken PERF,GF =throw 3S.G TOP chicken when

peleg-peleg na, may batong nagapil ong
peleg =REDUP na may bato =ang na =gapil ong
shake =INTENS 3S.G exist rock =REL PERF,ABL,GF =include OBL

kalipapa na ang natabid ang inita ni Doña
kalipapa na ang na =tabid ang in =ita ni Doña
wing 3S.G LKR PERF,GF =accompany LKR PERF,GF =see PM.G Lady

Maria don ong pagimol-mol na don ong balay nira.
Maria doon ong pag =imol-mol na doon ong balay nira
Maria LOC3 OBL NLR =pluck 3S.G LOC3 OBL house 3P.G

84. Mandian, pagaita ni Doña Maria tang bato, ay na pala
mandian paga =ita ni Doña Maria tang bato ay nani pala
now after =see PM.G Lady Maria TOP rock INV D1 SURP

ang batong asi ay bolawan! 85. Ganing ono "Ong ay
ang bato =ang asii ay bolawan ga =aning ono ong ari
TOP rock =LKR D3 INV gold IMP,AF =say RS OBL where

pay komiten mo tang manong na?"
pa =ay komit =en mo tang mano =ang nani
Q =INV get =INF,GF 2S.G TOP chicken =LKR D1

86. Ganing ono, "Na ka lamang ong babakan."
ga =aning ono na ka lamang ong babak =an
IMP,AF =say RS LOC1 EXP only OBL down =LOC

87. Ganing ono "Ang batong nani, yading bato don
ga =aning ono ang bato =ang nani yadi =ang bato doon
IMP,AF =say RS TOP rock =LKR D1 many =LKR rock LOC3

ang maning ta na?" 88. Ganing ono asing katawa na,
ang maning ta nani ga =aning ono asii =ang katawa na
LKR like GEN D1 IMP,AF =say RS D3 =LKR spouse 3S.G

82. Now when he was capturing the chicken, the chicken man hit it with a stone.
83. When the chicken flapped around, a stone got stuck in its wing and Doña Maria found it when she was plucking the chicken back at the house.

84. Now when Doña Maria saw the stone, she saw to her surprise that this was gold![10]
85. She said, "Where did you get this chicken?"

86. He said, "Just down below here."

87. She said, "This stone here, are there many like it there?"
88. That husband of hers said, "All the stones there are like this one."

[10] The fate of the outcast couple takes a turn for the better with Doña Maria's discovery of a gold nugget embedded in the feathers of a wild chicken. Gold is sometimes panned in the mountain streams of Palawan province, where the storyteller lived.

"Ang tanan ang bato don maning ta na." 89. Ta indi mandian,
ang tanan ang bato doon maning ta nani ta indi mandian
TOP all LKR rock LOC3 like GEN D1 INTJ INTJ now

89. So then, Doña Maria gave thanks that there to her surprise were great riches there.

pasalamat si Doña Maria, ay asi pala dorong manggad
pa =salamat si Doña Maria ay asii pala doro =ang manggad
CAUS =thanks PM.T Lady Maria INV D3 SURP much =LKR wealth

don. 90. Dorong bolawan. 91. Ganing ono "Na yay
doon doro =ang bolawan ga =aning ono nani ya =ay
LOC3 much =LKR gold IMP,AF =say RS D1 PRO =INV

90. There was a lot of gold. 91. She said, "This is gold the same as my ring here." 92. Now his wife, Doña Maria, said, "When we have eaten, you take a sack down there.

ang bolawan ay pario ta narin ang sisingo. 92. Indi mandian,
ang bolawan ay pario ta narin ang sising =o indi mandian
TOP gold INV same GEN LOC1 LKR ring =1S.G INTJ now

ganing ono tang katawa na, si Doña Maria,
ga =aning ono tang katawa na si Doña Maria
IMP,AF =say RS TOP spouse 3S.G PM.T Lady Maria

"Mapamangan ita, magekela don ta sako.
ma =paang =pangan ita mag =ekel =a doon ta sako
after =IMP,AF =eat 1PI.T INF,AF =bring =2S.T LOC3 GEN sack

93. Tomakana ta, e-lan mo kompormi ong
om =takan =a ta ekel =an mo kompormi ong
INF,AF =carry =2S.T LOC1 bring =INF,RF 2S.G conform OBL

93. Carry it here, bring back as much as you can.

poirsa mo. 94. Ya lamang ay taketen mo."
poirsa mo ya lamang ay taket =en mo
strength 2S.G PRO only INV measure =INF,GF 2S.G

94. Bring just as much as you can manage."

95. Indi pagapamangan, ekel asing katawa nang
indi paga =paang =pangan ekel asii =ang katawa na =ang
INTJ after =IMP,AF =eat bring D3 =LKR spouse 3S.G =LKR

95. So after they had eaten, her husband took the sack.

lali tang sako. 96. Pisik tang mga bato don ang babanggil
lalii tang sako pisik tang mga bato doon ang CV =banggil
male one sack pick.up DEF PL rock LOC3 LKR IMP,GF =throw

96. He picked up stones there that he had been throwing at wild chickens.

na tang katian. 97. Mabalik ang ekel na tenga ong sako,
na tang katian ma =balik ang ekel na tenga ong sako
3S.G TOP wild.chicken after =return TOP bring 3S.G half OBL sack

97. When he returned he was carrying half a sack, as much as he could carry.

ang poirsa na lamang tang sinaket na tang
ang poirsa na lamang tang in =taket na tang
TOP strength 3S.G only TOP PERF,GF =measure 3S.G TOP

agtakanen na. 98. Pag kabot don, telekan ni Doña
ag--en =takan na pag kabot doon telek =an ni Doña
IMP,GF =carry 3S.G when arrive LOC3 look =INF,RF PM.G Lady

Maria, poros kaman bolawan. 99. Ganing ono, "E-lan
Maria poros kaman bolawan ga =aning ono ekel =an
Maria all indeed gold IMP,AF =say RS bring =INF,RF

mo, takanen mo don ong platiro,[11] ong manigpanday
mo takan =en mo doon ong platiro ong manig =panday
2S.G carry =INF,GF 2S.G LOC3 OBL artisan OBL NLR =carpenter

ta bolawan, ipabakal mo." 100. Ta indi, takan,
ta bolawan i =pa =bakal mo ta indi takan
GEN gold INF,GF =CAUS =buy 2S.G INTJ INTJ carry

siminegbeng ong lansangan, sinakan na asing
imin =tegbeng ong lansangan in =takan na asii =ang
PERF,AF =go.to.town OBL town PERF,GF =carry 3S.G D3 =LKR

tenga ong sakong bato. 101. Pag kabot don, binayadan
tenga ong sako =ang bato pag kabot doon in--an =bayad
half OBL sack =LKR rock when arrive LOC3 PERF,RF =pay

ta asing platiro ang tenga ong sako.
ta asii =ang platiro ang tenga ong sako
GEN D3 =LKR artisan TOP half OBL sack

102. Naging tang sakong koarta tang bayad na.
nag =imo =ang tang sako =ang koarta tang bayad na
PERF,AF =become =LKR one sack =LKR money TOP pay 3S.G

103. Pagaolik na don ong ni Doña Maria,
paga =olik na doon ong ni Doña Maria
after =go.home 3S.G LOC3 OBL PM.G Lady Maria

inintriga na asing koarta. 104. Mandian nangomit
in =intriga na asii =ang koarta mandian nang =komit
PERF,GF =entrust 3S.G D3 =LKR money now PERF,AF =get

98. When he got there, Doña Maria looked and saw that indeed it was all gold. 99. She said, "Go and carry all of this to the artisans, to those who work in gold, and sell it to them."

100. And so he carried it, he went down to town, carrying that half sack of stones.

101. When he got there, those goldsmiths paid him for that half sack of stones.

102. His payment became one (whole) sack of money.

103. After he got back home to Doña Maria, he handed over that money. 104. Now he got another half sack of stones.

[11] The borrowed term **platiro** is explained by its Agutaynen equivalent.

si ta tenga ong sako ang bato. 105. Ingkelan na si
sii ta tenga ong sako ang bato in--an =ekel na sii
again GEN half OBL sack LKR rock PERF,GF =bring 3S.G again

105. He took the stones again to the goldsmiths he had sold to, and once again his payment was the same, a whole sack of money again.

don ong platirong pinabakal, ya si kay
doon ong platiro =ang in =pa =bakal ya sii ka =ay
LO3C OBL artisan =LKR PERF,GF =CAUS =buy PRO again EXP =INV

asing bayad na, tang sako si kang koarta. 106. Mandian
asii =ang bayad na tang sako sii ka =ang koarta mandian
D3 =LKR pay 3S.G one sack again EXP =LKR money now

106. Now when he had delivered it, that which had become two sacks of money was all in bills.

pagaintriga na, asing nagimong doroa
paga =intriga na asii =ang nag =imo =ang doroa
after =entrust 3S.G D3 =LKR PERF,AF =become =LKR two

rang sakong koarta ay poros papel. 107. Indi
ra =ang sako =ang koarta ay poros papel indi
already =LKR sack =LKR money INV all paper NEG1

107. We don't know just how much each bill was worth, (whether) perhaps one hundred or five hundred each.

mata-wanan ta ang taben ang tanga papelan ang
ma--an =tako ta ang taben ang tang =nga papel =an ang
INF,ABL,RF =know 1PI.G LKR perhaps TOP one =unit bill =unit TOP

pira ray teled na, ang tang gatos obin
pira ra =ay teled na ang tang gatos obin
how.much already =INV contents 3S.G TOP one hundred or

limang gatos. 108. Basta naging doroa
lima =ang gatos basta nag =imo =ang doroa
five =LKR hundred just PERF,AF =become =LKR two

108. It just became two big sacks full of money, the payment for the gold.

rang sakong mababael tang teled na, ang
ra =ang sako =ang ma =CV =bael tang teled na ang
already =LKR sack =LKR ADJ =PL =big TOP contents 3S.G TOP

koartang bayad tang bolawan na.
koarta =ang bayad tang bolawan na
money =LKR pay DEF gold 3S.G

109. Ta mandian, ganing ono si Doña Maria, "Ang
ta mandian ga =aning ono si Doña Maria ang
INTJ now IMP,AF =say RS PM.T Lady Maria TOP

109. Now Doña Maria said, "Go to all the goldsmiths and artisans in town.

tanan ang mga manigpanday ta bolawan atan ong lansangan,
tanan ang mga manig =panday ta bolawan atan ong lansangan
all LKR PL NLR carpenter GEN gold LOC2 OBL town

mga platiro pampaningan mong tanan.
mga platiro pang--an =paning mo =ang tanan
PL artisan INF,PL,RF =go 2S.G =LKR all

110. Pangimbitaren mo, soildoan ta.
pang--en =imbitar mo soildo =an ta
INF,PL,GF =imbitar 2S.G salary =INF,RF 1PI.G

111. Magpa-deng ita ra ta balay ta tarin ong
mag =pa =kereng ita ra ta balay ta tarin ong
INF,AF =CAUS =stand 1PI.T already GEN house 1PI.G LOC1 OBL

bokid ang bolawan." 112. Ig lagi-lagi ang asing
bokid ang bolawan ig lagi =REDUP ang asii =ang
hills LKR gold and immediately =DIMIN TOP D3 =LKR

katawa nang lali tegbeng.
katawa na =ang lalii tegbeng
spouse 3S.G =LKR male go.to.town

113. Ang tanan ang mga platiro limbot nang
ang tanan ang mga platiro in =lobot na =ang
TOP all LKR PL artisan PERF,GF =consume 3S.G =LKR

inimbitar ay gangaliliag ka tang mga platiro.
in =imbitar ay ganga =CV =liag ka tang mga platiro
PERF,GF =invite INV IMP,PL,STAT =PL =like EXP TOP PL artisan

114. Tenged ang bolawan dorog kamal ay
tenged ang bolawan doro =g ka =maal ay
because TOP gold very =LKR INTENS =expensive INV

mal ka tang nirang kinaldaw. 115. Mandian
maal ka tang nira =ang kinaldaw mandian
expensive EXP TOP 3P.O =LKR daily.wage now

pamansipaning don tang mga platiro. 116. Dorong mga
pamansi =paning doon tang mga platiro doro =ang mga
IMP,PL,AF =go LOC3 TOP PL artisan many =LKR PL

mamanigpanday ta bolawan tang namansipaning.
CV =manig =panday ta bolawan tang namansi =paning
PL =NLR =carpenter GEN gold TOP PERF,PL,AF =go

117. May pagpanday ta mga gamit ong balay — ang mga
may pag =panday ta mga gamit ong balay ang mga
exist IMP,AF =carpenter GEN PL things OBL house TOP PL

110. Invite them to work, and we'll hire them.

111. We'll build us a house here on this gold mountain."

112. And that husband of hers went right off to town.

113. He invited all the artisans and they agreed to work for him.

114. Since gold is very expensive their wages were also high.
115. So the artisans all go there.

116. Many goldsmiths went.

117. There were carpenters for the things in the house, the posts, every-

adili, tanan. 118. Namagpa-deng da ta balay
adili tanan namag =pa =kereng da ta balay
post all PERF,PL,AF =CAUS =stand already GEN house

thing. 118. They built themselves a gold house.

nirang bolawan. 119. Mandian ang tanan ang gamit ong balay
nira =ang bolawan mandian ang tanan ang gamit ong balay
3P.G =LKR gold now TOP all LKR things OBL house

119. Now all the parts of the house were pure gold, from the ground straight up to the roof, it was absolutely all gold.

poros bolawan, magompisa ong tanek, diritso ong katep, poros ang
poros bolawan mag =ompisa ong tanek diritso ong katep poros ang
all gold INF,AF =begin OBL earth direct OBL roof all LKR

enged bolawan.
enged bolawan
INTENS gold

120. Ong teled ta pirapang kaldaw, komo dorong
ong teled ta pira =pa =ang kaldaw komo doro =ang
OBL inside GEN how.much =Q =LKR day since many =LKR

120. Within a few days, since there were many carpenters, many workers, to make a long story short, their house was finished.

manigpanday, dorong manigboat, ong madaling istoria
manig =panday doro =ang manig =boat ong madali =ang istoria
NLR =carpenter many =LKR NLR =make OBL quickly =LKR story

natapos tang balay nira. 121. Ang sinagdekan tang
na =tapos tang balay nira ang in--an =tagdek tang
PERF,ABL,GF =finish TOP house 3P.G TOP PERF,RF =place DEF

121. The area covered by their house was the size of a one hectare field.

balay nira ay teled ta togda ta tang iktaria.
balay nira ay teled ta togda ta tang iktaria
house 3P.G INV within GEN plant GEN one hectare

122. Naging plasa tang nirang sinagdekan
nag =imo =ang plasa tang nira =ang in--an =tagdek
PERF,AF =become =LKR plaza TOP 3P.O =LKR PERF,GF =place

122. The land they built their house on became a plaza.

tang balay. 123. Mandian asing may pirapang kaldaw
tang balay mandian asii =ang may pira =pa =ang kaldaw
DEF house now D3 =LKR exist how.much =Q =LKR day

123. Now some days after the house was finished, every sunrise, Doña Juana and Doña Isabel were astonished and they said, "When the sun is rising, there on the mountain there is something shining so bright

ang tapos da tang balay, kada tenla tang kaldaw, da
ang tapos da tang balay kada em =tela tang kaldaw da
LKR finish already TOP house each INF,AF =rise DEF day PMP.T

Doña Juana ni Doña Isabel gangabereng nga
Doña Juana ni Doña Isabel ganga =bereng nga
Lady Juana PM.G Lady Isabel IMP,PL,STAT =amaze COMP

ganing ono, "Mga te-la tang kaldaw tani ong bokid
ga =aning ono mga CV =tela tang kaldaw tani ong bokid
IMP,AF =say RS if IMP,AF =rise TOP sun LOC1 OBL hill

ang asi may sisinag ang indi mapa-dekan.
ang asii may CV =sinag ang indi ma--an =pa-dek
LKR D3 exist IMP,AF =shine LKR NEG1 INF,ABL,GF =look.at

that it can't be looked at.

124. Pisan ang indi mawan-wan tang mata amen
pisan ang indi maa =wan =REDUP tang mata amen
indeed LKR NEG1 INF,STAT =MNL =INTENS TOP eye 1PE.G

don, tenged doro rang kasi-kat tang sisinag
doon tenged doro ra =ang ka =si-kat tang CV =sinag
LOC3 because very already =LKR INTENS =bright DEF IMP,AF =shine

124. Our eyes can't even you-know (look) there at all, because that shining thing is so bright.

don. 125. Onopa kayang wan ay?" 126. Ang ori ra
doon ono =pa kaya =ang wan ay ang ori ra
LOC3 what =Q DELIB =LKR MNL INTJ TOP last already

naisip nira ang ganing ono
na =isip nira ang ga =aning ono
PERF,ABL,GF =think 3P.G LKR IMP,AF =say RS

125. Whatever could it be?"
126. At last they said, "Let's ask about this over there, let's see.

"Pabalitan ta ngani don, telekan ta.
pa =balita =an ta ngani doon telek =an ta
CAUS =news =INF,RF 1PI.G indeed LOC3 look =INF,RF 1PI.G

127. Sigoro tata kang inadian ang mas mapoirsa pa tarin
sigoro tata ka =ang inadian ang mas ma =poirsa pa tarin
maybe one EXP =LKR kingdom LKR more ADJ =strength yet LOC1

ong yaten ang inadian."
ong yaten ang inadian
OBL 1PI.O LKR kingdom

127. It might be another kingdom stronger than our kingdom here."

128. Mandian ong madaling istoria, namampaning da
mandian ong madali =ang istoria namang =paning da
now OBL quickly =LKR story PERF,PL,AF =go already

tanira don ang epat. 129. Si Doña Juana may ang katawa na,
tanira doon ang epat si Doña Juana may ang katawa na
3P.F LOC3 LKR four PM.T Lady Juana and TOP spouse 3S.G

si Doña Isabel may katawa na ka, epat tanira.
si Doña Isabel may katawa na ka epat tanira
PM.T Lady Isabel and spouse 3S.G EXP four 3P.F

128. So, to make a long story short, the four of them went there.
129. Doña Juana and her husband and Doña Isabel and her husband — the four of them (went).

130. Nangakabot da don ong porta tang kodal.
nanga =kabot da doon ong porta tang kodal
PERF,ABL,PL,AF =arrive already LOC3 OBL gate DEF fence

131. Ang kodal na bolawan ka. 132. Ta mandian, pag goy nira
ang kodal na bolawan ka ta mandian pag goy nira
TOP fence 3S.G gold EXP INTJ now when call 3P.G

don ong porta, si Doña Maria siminamba ong talamban.
doon ong porta si Doña Maria imin =tamba ong talamban
LOC3 OBL gate PM.T Lady Maria PERF,AF =look.out OBL window

133. Nailala nang lagi ang asi
na =ilala na =ang lagi ang asii
PERF,ABL,GF =recognize 3S.G =LKR immediately LKR D3

yay ang mga logod na. 134. Ang asing katawa na, belag
ya =ay ang mga logod na ang asii =ang katawa na belag
PRO =INV TOP PL sibling 3S.G TOP D3 =LKR spouse 3S.G NEG2

da ta katian tang aran na. 135. Na pala ang aran
da ta katian tang aran na nani pala ang aran
already GEN wild.chicken TOP name 3S.G D1 SURP TOP name

na ay si Don Juan. 136. Si Don Juan, komo asing balay
na ay si Don Juan si Don Juan komo asii =ang balay
3S.G INV PM.T Lord Juan PM.T Lord Juan since D3 =LKR house

na bolawan da, manggaden da, ay mistiso ra.
na bolawan da manggad =en da ay mistiso ra
3S.G gold already wealth =ADJ already INV mestizo already

137. Pagamirikana ra. 138. Ang lambong na poros da
pag =amirikana ra ang lambong na poros da
IMP,AF =American already TOP clothes 3S.G all already

amirikana. 139. Yay napaning si Don Juan ong porta
amirikana ya =ay na =paning si Don Juan ong porta
American PRO =INV PERF,AF =go PM.T Lord Juan OBL gate

tang kodal, ganing ono, "Ari amo pa paning?"
tang kodal ga =aning ono ari amo pa paning
DEF fence IMP,AF =say RS where 2P.T Q go

140. Ganing ono asing doroang mga logod na, da
ga =aning ono asii =ang doroa =ang mga logod na da
IMP,AF =say RS D3 =LKR two =LKR PL sibling 3S.G PMP.T

130. They arrived there at the gate.

131. The fence was gold too. 132. Now when they called at the gate, Doña Maria looked out the window.

133. She recognized right away that those were her sisters.
134. As for her husband, his name was no longer "wild chicken man".
135. This one's name was now Don Juan!

136. Don Juan, since his house was now made of gold, and he was now rich, had become fair skinned.

137. He wore American clothes.
138. His clothing was all American style. 139. So this Don Juan went to the gate and said, "Where are you going?"

140. Those two sisters of hers, Doña Juana and Doña Isabel, said, "We

Doña Juana may ni Doña Isabel, ganing ono,
Doña Juana may ni Doña Isabel ga =aning ono
Lady Juana and PM.G Lady Isabel IMP,AF =say RS

"Galiliag ami rin lamang mamisita tarin ong
ga =CV =liag ami rin lamang mang =bisita tarin ong
IMP,STAT =PL =like 1PE.T OPT only INF,PL,AF =visit LOC1 OBL

nindio. 141. Tenged ang balay mi, labi pa mga makinit,
nindio tenged ang balay mi labi pa mga ma =kinit
2P.O because TOP house 2P.G especially yet if ADJ =hot

indi ami mapa-dek. 142. Masiado ra. 143. Poros
indi ami maa =pa-dek masiado ra poros
NEG1 1PE.T INF,ABL,AF =look.at very already all

da lamang bolawan." 144. Ta, ganing ono, "Padayon
da lamang bolawan ta ga =aning ono pa =dayon
already only gold INTJ IMP,AF =say RS DIR =proceed

amo."
amo
2P.T

145. Pag kabot ong balkon namansikarong ong silia.
pag kabot ong balkon namansi =karong ong silia
when arrive OBL porch PERF,PL,AF =sit OBL chair

146. Si Doña Maria limindoa. 147. Pag loa na,
si Doña Maria imin =loa pag loa na
PM.T Lady Maria PERF,AF =out when out 3S.G

nailala ang asi yay ang ari nirang
naa =ilala ang asii ya =ay ang ari nira =ang
PERF,ABL,AF =recognize TOP D3 PRO =INV TOP younger 3P.G =LKR

kinatawa ta taga bokid. 148. Ta, pagailala nira,
in =katawa ta taga bokid ta paga =ilala nira
PERF,GF =spouse GEN from hills INTJ after =recognize 3P.G

ganing ono si Doña Maria ong nira, "Pala,
ga =aning ono si Doña Maria ong nira pala
IMP,AF =say RS PM.T Lady Maria OBL 3P.G SURP

gatoman mi ka tang logar amen!" 149. Ganing
ga =toman mi ka tang logar amen ga =aning
IMP,ABL,GF =know 2P.G EXP TOP place 1PE.G IMP,AF =say

would just like to visit you here.

141. For your house, especially when the sun is shining, we can't even look at it (it's so bright). 142. It's too much. 143. It's all gold!"
144. So, he said, "Come in."

145. When they got to the porch, they sat on chairs.

146. Doña Maria came out.
147. When she came out, they recognized that she was their younger sister who had married a man from the hills.
148. When they had recognized her, Doña Maria said to them, "So, you know about our place!"

149. They said, "We would just like to visit you here."

ono, "Galiliag ami lamang mamisita ta ong
ono gaa =CV =liag ami lamang mang =bisita tarin ong
RS IMP,STAT =IMP =like 1PE.T only INF,AF =visit LOC1 OBL

nindio." 150. Ganing ono da Doña Juana may si Doña
nindio ga =aning ono da Doña Juana may si Doña
2P.O IMP,AF =say RS PMP.T Lady Juana and PM.T Lady

Isabel, "Mga poidi, tarin ami ra magtinir. 151. Maski
Isabel mga poidi tarin ami ra mag =tinir maski
Isabel if can LOC1 1PE.T already INF,AF =stay even.though

mangaistaran ami ra tarin ong nindio, maging torobolon
manga--an =istar ami ra tarin ong nindio maging torobolon
INF,PL,AF =live 1PE.T already LOC1 OBL 2P.O become servant

ami ra nindio."
ami ra nindio
1PE.T already 2P.O

150. Doña Juana and Doña Isabel said, "If possible, we would like to move here. 151. If we could just live here with you, we would even become your servants."

152. Ganing ono si Doña Maria, "Boino, mga
ga =aning ono si Doña Maria boino mga
IMP,AF =say RS PM.T Lady Maria well if

galiliag amo kang patobol ong yamen,
gaa =CV =liag amo ka =ang pa =tobol ong yamen
IMP,STAT =PL =like 2P.T EXP =LKR CAUS =command OBL 1PE.O

yawa, Doña Juana, manigdongkol. 153. Ig ang katawa mo,
yawa Doña Juana manig =dongkol ig ang katawa mo
2S.F Lady Juana NLR =cook.rice and TOP spouse 2S.G

manigtoro ta wi. 154. Yawa, Doña Isabel, maniglotok
manig =toro ta wii yawa Doña Isabel manig =lotok
NLR =fetch.water GEN water 2S.F Lady Isabel NLR =cook

ta tera, ig ang katawa mo, manigdayday ta langaw."
ta tera ig ang katawa mo manig =dayday ta langaw
GEN viand and TOP spouse 2S.G NLR =chop.up GEN firewood

155. Mandian nangaliliag da tanira ang don
mandian nanga =CV =liag da tanira ang doon
now PERF,PL,STAT =PL =like already 3P.F COMP LOC3

152. Doña Maria replied, "Well, if you want to be our servants, you, Doña Juana be the one to cook the rice.

153. And your husband, he can fetch water.

154. You, Doña Isabel, can cook the viand[12] and your husband can chop firewood."

155. And those two sisters of hers and their husbands agreed to live there.

[12] Side dish to go with rice, usually meat or fish.

da mamangistaran tang mga logod nang doroa may ang
da mamang--an =istar tang mga logod na =ang doroa may ang
already INF,PL,AF =live TOP PL sibling 3S.G =LKR two and TOP

kakatawan nira.
ka--an =katawa nira
NLR =spouse 3P.G

156. Ig asta mandian sigoro don pa gistar ong balay
ig asta mandian sigoro doon pa ga =istar ong balay
and until now maybe LOC3 yet IMP,AF =live OBL house

ang asi. 157. Si Doña Maria may si Don Juan yay ang
ang asii si Doña Maria may si Don Juan ya =ay ang
LKR D3 PM.T Lady Maria and PM.T Lord Juan PRO =INV TOP

naging adi, ig limindoa tanirang
nag =imo =ang adi ig imin =loa tanira =ang
PERF,AF =become =LKR king and PERF,AF =out 3P.F =LKR

manggaranen. 158. Ig asta mandian sigoro, ong balay nirang
manggad =Vr--en ig asta mandian sigoro ong balay nira =ang
wealth =ADJ and until now maybe OBL house 3P.G =LKR

asing bolawan boi pa. 159. Anda ray doma.
asii =ang bolawan boi pa anda ra =ay doma
D3 =LKR gold alive yet NEG3 already =INV other

156. And perhaps they are still living there in that house until now. 157. Doña Maria and Don Juan, they became king (and queen), and became very rich.

158. And probably even now, they are still living, in that gold house of theirs. 159. That's all.

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Ang Yan ang Napalpat
The Fish that Got Away

This text was tape-recorded in 1986 at the request of the researcher by Mr. Edgardo C. Edep, a 42-year-old high school teacher at the time. It demonstrates that "fish stories" have some things in common regardless of cultural background. One interesting linguistic aspect of the narrative is the occurrence of several unaffixed verb roots on the main event line, marking this style as both narrative and, appropriately, informal. This text is particularly valuable as an example of an unplanned oral narrative and is perhaps the most genuinely conversational in nature of all the texts in the collection.

1. Mandian ang istoriao ong nio, Steve, tenged ong barakoda
mandian ang istoria =o ong nio Steve tenged ong barakoda
now TOP story =1S.G OBL 2S.O Steve about OBL barracuda

ang nakomito rin tanopa taka. 2. Mga last
ang na =komit =o rin taano =pa taka mga last
LKR PERF,ABL,GF =get =1S.G OPT when =Q recent.past about last

January 1986, nantakon da mandian.
January 1986 nang =takon da mandian
January 1986 PERF,AF =year already now

1. Now, my story for you, Steve, is about the barracuda I almost caught a while back. 2. It was about last January 1986, a year ago now.

3. Nagtayo tang bilogo primiro,
nag =taay =o tang bilog =o primiro
PERF,AF =board =1S.T DEF boat =1S.G first

pagoyod-goyodo[1] ta toringan, mga ong English yay
pa =goyod-goyod =o ta toringan mga ong English ya =ay
CAUS =troll =1S.T GEN tuna if OBL English PRO =INV

ang tuna. 4. Pagakomito ta tambilog,
ang tuna paga =komit =o ta tang =bilog
TOP tuna after =get =1S.G GEN one =piece

3. First I got into my boat, I was trolling for **toringan**, which in English is tuna.

4. After I caught one, I made that my bait.

[1] There are many different types of fishing done on Agutaya. To troll is called **pagoyod-goyod** 'to drag along'. Fishing in deep water with a line and large hooks is called **bila**. Casting a line with a smaller hook is **patondi**. Nets are also used. Large nets, **panti**, are used in either deep or shallow water and are made of nylon. A large but very fine-weave net used close to shore is the **sarap**. Smaller nets are commonly used close to shore. A one- or two-man net is the **laya** which is tossed. Each method catches a certain kind of fish. The **toringan** or tuna are caught by trolling and are most abundant during the months of the dry Northeast wind or **kambian**, October to March.

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bindoato rang palangsio. 5. Ig asing	5. And while I was
in =boat =o ra =ang palangsi =o ig asii =ang	sailing the boat[2]
PERF,GF =make =1S.G already =LKR bait =1S.G and D3 =LKR	around, before
	long, (my hook)
paglayag-layago ra tang bilog, indi	suddenly was
pag =layag =REDUP =o ra tang bilog indi	pulled by a great
IMP,AF =sail =ITER =1S.T already DEF boat NEG1	big fish.
naboay, binteng da ta yan ang doro	
na =boay in =beteng da ta yan ang doro	
PERF,STAT =long.time PERF,GF =pull already GEN fish LKR very	
kabael. 6. Kalaomo, onopa lamang yan ay?	6. I thought, what
ka =bael kalaom =o ono =pa lamang yan ay	kind of fish could
INTENS =big think =1S.G what =Q only fish INV	this be?
7. Binatako, gatras da tang bilog.	7. (When) I pulled
in =batak =o ga =atras da tang bilog	on the line, the
PERF,GF =pull-in =1S.G IMP,STAT =backwards already TOP boat	boat was pulled
	backwards.
8. Kaboay tang betengan amen. 9. Ong kaboayan,	8. We pulled on it
ka =boay tang beteng =an amen ong ka--an =boay	for a long time.
INTENS =long.time DEF pull =NLR 1PE.G OBL NLR =long.time	9. Eventually, I,
	you-know, got it
nawan da, don ong bilog kinargao.	into the boat.
na =wan da doon ong bilog in =karga =o	
PERF,ABL,GF =MNL already LOC3 OBL boat PERF,GF =load =1S.G	
10. Ig geldano kang magboyot.	10. And I was
ig ag--an =eled =o ka =ang mag =boyot	afraid to take hold
and IMP,RF =fear =1S.T EXP =LKR INF,AF =hold	of it.
11. Ganga. 12. Lagat alaten na tang kalimao.	11. Its mouth was
ga =anga lagat alat =en na tang kalima =o	gaping. 12. It might
IMP,AF =mouth later bite =INF,GF 3S.G TOP hand =1S.G	bite my hand.
13. Pinabayano lamang pepeleg-peleg. 14. Na, pala	13. I just let it flap
in--an =pabaya =o lamang CV =peleg =REDUP nani pala	around. 14. And
PERF,RF =allow =1S.G only IMP =flap =ITER D1 SURP	then, what do you
	know but the hook
natanggal da tang bila! 15. Natanggal	came out! 15. It
na =tanggal da tang bila na =tanggal	detached from its
PERF,ABL,GF =detach already TOP hook PERF,ABL,GF =detach	mouth.

[2] The boats used on Agutaya for fishing are either small outrigger canoes called **bilog** with or without a sail, or larger motorized outriggers called **motor**.

da ong anga na. 16. Moman ang meleg-peleg, ya
da ong anga na moman ang m =peleg =REDUP ya
already OBL mouth 3S.G next LKR INF,AF =jump =ITER PRO

ray nabo-log ong talsi.
ra =ay na =bo-log ong talsi
already =INV PERF,ABL,AF =fall OBL sea

16. The next time it flapped around, that's when it fell into the sea.

17. Nangarangano pa. 18. Gaingo "Aroy,
nang =arangan =o pa ga =aning =o aroy
PERF,AF =waste =1S.T yet IMP,AF =say =1S.T INTJ

kabael da ka rin tang yan ang na, napalpat
ka =bael da ka rin tang yan ang nani naa =palpat
INTENS =big already also OPT TOP fish LKR D1 PERF,ABL,AF =escape

pa."
pa
yet

17. And I had wasted it! 18. I said, "Oh, such a big fish (to have), and it got away!"

19. Ta si, linobayano ra. 20. Sine-kan,
ta sii in--an =lobay =o ra in- =tegkan
INTJ then PERF,RF =slow =1S.T already PERF,RF =until

gaingo, "Moliko ra lamang.
ga =aning =o m =olik =o ra lamang
IMP,AF =say =1S.T INF,AF =go.home =1S.T already only

19. By then, I was worn out. 20. I had reached my limit and said, "I'll just go home.

21. Anda ra kay makomito na.
anda ra ka =ay ma =komit =o narin
NEG3 already indeed =INV INF,ABL,GF =get =1S.G LOC1

21. I won't be able to catch anything else here.

22. Malas." 23. Olik. 24. Palayag tang bilog, diritso
malas olik pa =layag tang bilog diritso =o
bad.luck go.home CAUS =sail DEF bangka direct =1S.T

ra olik ong balay.
ra olik ong balay
already go.home OBL house

22. It's bad luck."
23. I went home.
24. I sailed the boat, straight home.

25. Ya ra kay lamang asi tenged ong barakoda. 26. Mga ong
ya ra kay lamang asii tenged ong barakoda mga ong
PRO already REQ only D3 about OBL barracuda if OBL

domang yan pa, si yadi pa ka rin. 27. Ta, don kay
doma =ang yan pa asii yadi pa ka rin ta doon kay
other =LKR fish still D3 many still also OPT INTJ LOC3 REQ

25. That's all there is about the barracuda. 26. If it was about other fish still, there would be a lot more. 27. But let's just let it go at

lagi	lamang.	that for now.
lagi	lamang	
immediately	only	

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Ang Pagkabantay ta Lamlam
Trapping Birds

This text was narrated on tape by Mr. Nelson Zabalo (44 years old) in 1987 at the request of the researcher. In it he fondly recalls his childhood days when he would trap birds with his uncle on Diit island. The researcher's request for a procedural text "How to trap birds" resulted in this narrative form.

1. Ang pagidado pa ta tampolok ang takon, osia
ang pag =idad =o pa ta tampolok ang takon osia
when IMP,AF =age =1S.T yet GEN ten LKR year or

onsi, may logod ni nanay ang anday katawa na,
onsi may logod ni nanay ang anda =ay katawa na
eleven exist sibling PM.G mother LKR NEG3 =INV spouse 3S.G

aggekelano nandia ong bokid. 2. Maekelano
ag--an =ekel =o nandia ong bokid ma =ekel =an =o
IMP,RF =bring =1S.T 3S.O OBL hills after =bring =INF,RF =1S.T

nandia don ong bokid, ganingo, "Tata,
nandia doon ong bokid ga =aning =o tata
3S.O LOC3 OBL hills IMP,AF =say =1S.T uncle

mandoitapa?" 3. Ganing, "Magkabantay ita ta
mang =do =ita =pa ga =aning mag =kabantay ita ta
INF,AF =do =1PI.T =Q IMP,AF =say INF,AF =trap 1PI.T GEN

koagaw osia melekpelek." 4. Si yay ang aran tang lamlam ang
koagaw osia melekpelek asii ya =ay ang aran tang lamlam ang
k.bird or m.bird D3 PRO =INV TOP name DEF bird LKR

agkabantayan.
ag--an =kabantay
IMP,RF =trap

5. Pagkatapos ta sia, magekel ami ta pinli. 6. Ang
pagka =tapos ta asia mag =ekel ami ta pinli ang
after =finish GEN D2 INF,AF =bring 1PE.T GEN string TOP

1. When I was just ten or eleven years old, mother had an unmarried brother, and he used to take me with him up into the hills.
2. When he took me with him there to the hills, I said, "Uncle, what are we going to do?"

3. He said, "We're going to trap **koagaw** birds, or **melekpelek** birds."[1]
4. For that's the name of the birds which are trapped.

5. After that, we would take a string.
6. That kind of string, it was a string made from a

[1] These birds could not be positively identified by the researcher, and so no English name is given. They are said to be dark birds, somewhat larger than pigeons, but not crows. They live in the woods or bamboo groves.

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pinling asi, pininli ang nagalin ong iloloak ang
pinli =ang asii in =pinli ang nag =alin ong iloloak ang
string =LKR D3 PERF,GF =string LKR PERF,AF =leave OBL plants LKR

ganingen 'magi'. 7. Magi ang loloak ang lolongay
ag--en =aning magi magi ang loloak ang CV =longay
IMP,GF =say m.plant m.plant TOP plant LKR IMP,AF =sprout

atan ong mga binit tang baybay.
atan ong mga binit tang baybay
LOC2 OBL PL edge DEF beach

plant called the **magi** plant.[2]

7. **Magi** plants are the plants which grow there along the edge of the beach.

8. Pagkatapos, maekelan amen don ong bokid,
pagka =tapos ma =ekel =an amen doon ong bokid
after =finish after =bring =INF,RF 1PE.G LOC3 OBL hills

pagdilem ami tang marabong ang mga ayo ang may
pag =dilem ami tang marabong ang mga ayo ang may
IMP,AF =look.for 1PE.T DEF leafy LKR PL tree LKR exist

taking kolit don ong babakan. 9. Matapos ang
taki =ang kolit doon ong babakan ma =tapos ang
feces =LKR white LOC3 OBL down.below after =finish LKR

matelekan amen ang may taking kolit don ong bato,
ma =telek =an amen ang may taki =ang kolit doon ong bato
after =look =INF,GF 1PE.G LKR exist feces =LKR white LOC3 OBL rock

agsigoradon amen ang talagang may koagaw may ang
ag--on =sigorado amen ang talaga =ang may koagaw may ang
IMP,GF =certain 1PE.G LKR really =LKR exist k.bird and TOP

melekpelek ay don gistar. 10. Animan dayon aming
melekpelek ay doon ga =istar animan dayon ami =ang
m.bird INV LOC3 IMP,AF =live therefore proceed 1PE.T =LKR

mame-pet ta baogan. 11. Mapame-pet ta
mang =pe-pet ta baogan ma =paang =pe-pet ta
PERF,AF =chop.down GEN b.shrub after =AF =chop.down GEN

baogan, pagkatapos magboat ta ta-ketan tang kabantay
baogan pagka =tapos mag =boat ta ta-ket =an tang kabantay
b.shrub after =finish INF,AF =make GEN tie.to =LOC DEF trap

8. Then after we had taken the things up into the hills, we looked for big, shady trees with white droppings underneath.

9. After we had seen that there were white droppings on the rocks, we were sure that there were koagaw birds and melekpelek birds living there.

10. So we would proceed to cut down a **baogan** shrub.
11. When we had cut down the **baogan** shrub, then we would make a post for tying the string onto to make the trap.

[2] This may be the maguey plant.

nonot tang pinli. 12. Matapos mata-ket tang pinli ay
nonot tang pinli ma =tapos ma =ta-ket tang pinli ay
with DEF string after =finish after =tie.to DEF string INV

palangsian ta dorong katombal don ong toga tang
palangsi =an ta doro =ang katombal doon ong toga tang
bait =INF,RF GEN many =LKR pepper LOC3 OBL near DEF

kabantay.
kabantay
trap

12. After the string had been tied on, we would bait it (the trap) with a lot of peppers there near the trap.

13. Pagkatapos mapalangsian ay magboat ta
pagka =tapos ma =palangsi =an ay mag =boat ta
after =finish after =bait =INF,RF INV INF,AF =make GEN

taw-taw ong dobali may dobali. 14. Mandian ang
taw =REDUP ong dobali may dobali mandian ang
person =DIMIN OBL other.side and other.side now TOP

taw-taw ang agboaten ang asi ay ang kapotan tang ayo
taw =REDUP ang ag--en =boat ang asii ay ang kapotan tang ayo
person =DIMIN LKR IMP,GF =make LKR D3 INV TOP end DEF tree

ang may daon na ang agporon-poronon.
ang may daon na ang ag--on =poron =REDUP
LKR exist leaf 3S.G LKR IMP,GF =fringe =DIMIN

13. After we had baited the trap, we would make two little people one on each side.
14. Now those little people that we made were sticks with leaves torn in strips (for hair).

15. Pagkatapos ita-ket ngani don ong dobali may
pagka =tapos i =ta-ket ngani doon ong dobali may
after =then INF,GF =tie.to indeed LOC3 OBL other.side and

ong dobali ka. 16. Ga-nga tang kabantay. 17. Ig
ong dobali ka ga =tenga tang kabantay ig
OBL other.side EXP IMP,STAT =half TOP trap and

pagkatapos agordinan tang mepeto, si Tata,
pagka =tapos ag--an =ordin tang meepet =o si tata
after =finish IMP,RF =order DEF old =1S.G PM.T uncle

napatay da ka pa man, ang ganing,
na =patay da ka pa man ang ga =aning
PERF,STAT =die already EXP yet CONCESS LKR IMP,AF =say

"Bantayan mo ta mo-ya tang kabantay. 18. Mga may
bantay =an mo ta ma =o-ya tang kabantay mga may
guard =INF,RF 2S.G GEN ADJ =well TOP trap if exist

15. Then they were tied up on either side of the trap.
16. The trap would be in the middle.
17. And after that, my old uncle, who has since died, instructed them, saying, "Guard the trap well.

18. If anything eats these green peppers, snare it."

mamangan ta nang katombal ay te-den mo."
mang =pangan ta nani =ang katombal ay teked =en mo
INF,AF =eat GEN D1 =LKR red.pepper INV snare =INF,GF 2S.G

19. Pagabetang, mabetang amen ang apon, pag
paga =betang ma =betang amen ang apon pag
after =put after =put 1PE.G when afternoon when

damal-damal ay yamen dang bo-waen. 20. Ang
damal-damal ay yamen da =ang bo-wa =en ang
morning INV 1PE.O already =LKR inspect =INF,GF TOP

ganingen bo-waen, bisitaen, osia balikan.
ag--en =aning bo-wa =en bisita =en osia balik =an
IMP,GF =say inspect.trap =INF,GF visit =INF,GF or return =INF,RF

21. Telekan. 22. Mabalik ami don, aba, may atan ang
telek =an ma =balik ami doon aba may atan ang
look =INF,RF after =return 1PE.T LOC3 INTJ exist LOC2 LKR

ga-ked. 23. May atan ang laging patay.
ga =teked may atan ang lagi =ang patay
IMP,ABL,GF =tie.up exist LOC2 LKR immediately =LKR dead

24. May atan ang galayog piro na-ked.
may atan ang gaa =layog piro na =teked
exist LOC2 LKR IMP,ABL,AF =fly but PERF,ABL,GF =tie.up

25. Ay sia, pagpasalamato ig molik
ay asia pag =pa =salamat =o ig m =olik
INTJ D2 IMP,AF =CAUS =thanks =1S.T and INF,AF =go.home

ami ang maglotok tang koagaw may ang melekpelek.
ami ang mag =lotok tang koagaw may ang melekpelek
1PE.T LKR INF,AF =cook DEF k.bird and DEF m.bird

26. Aglagaen, aroy, dorog kategat! 27. Piro masabor
ag--en =laga aroy dorog ka =tegat piro ma =sabor
IMP,GF =boil INTJ very INTENS =hard but ADJ =delicious

tang karni na. 28. Matambek. 29. Ang pisan lamang
tang karni na ma =tambek ang pisan lamang
TOP meat 3S.G ADJ =fat TOP extreme only

panisinggi tang tabaw na. 30. Dorog katambek.
pani =singgi tang tabaw na dorog ka =tambek
IMP,STAT =red TOP broth 3S.G very INTENS =fat

19. After setting (it), if we had set the trap in the afternoon, the next morning we would inspect it. 20. The meaning of **bo-waen** is to visit, or to return to it.

21. To look at it. 22. When we would return there, oh, there would be something snared. 23. Some would be dead already.

24. And some would still be able to fly but snared.

25. And then, I would give thanks and we would go home to cook the **koagaw** bird and the **melekpelek** bird.

26. We would boil it, oh my! was it ever tough! 27. But its meat was delicious. 28. It was fat, 29. The soup would really turn red.
30. It was very fat.

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Natetenged ong mga Boarders
About Boarding Students

This text was recorded at the request of the researcher by Mrs. Fe Laab of Agutaya. It describes a very common situation within the town proper. It is included here for ethnographic interest, as well as for its linguistic characteristics of "negotiation".

1. Mga may istodianti ang taga bario ang galiliag
mga may istodianti ang taga bario ang gaa =CV =liag
if exist student LKR from barrio LKR IMP,STAT =PL =want

ang magadal ong National High School tarin ong Agutaya, tanira
ang mag =adal ong National High school tarin ong Agutaya tanira
LKR INF,AF =study OBL National High school LOC1 OBL Agutaya 3P.F

ba-lo, mansipaning tarin aroman nira tang mga ginikanan
ba-lo mansi =paning tarin aroman nira tang mga ginikanan
first INF,PL,AF =go LOC1 companion 3P.G TOP PL parents

nira. 2. Tenged yami ay may kailala amen ang mga taga bario,
nira tenged yami ay may ka =ilala amen ang mga taga bario
3P.G because 1PE.F INV exist NLR =know 1PE.G LKR PL from barrio

simpri ang mga ginikanan nira ay tomabid ig
simpri ang mga ginikanan nira ay om =tabid ig
of.course TOP PL parents 3P.G INV INF,AF =accompany and

magprisintar ong balay mga tanira ay risibien obin indi.
mag =prisintar ong balay mga tanira ay risibi =en obin indi
INF,AF =present OBL house if 3P.F INV receive =INF,GF or NEG1

3. Mandian, indi, ganing ami, "Mamagkondision ita
mandian indi ga =aning ami mamag =kondision ita
now INTJ IMP,AF =say 1PE.T INF,PL,AF =condition 1PI.T

kay lagi. 4. Mamagarampang ita tang mga mola may
kay lagi mamag =Vr =ampang ita tang mga mola may
REQ first INF,PL,AF =PL =converse 1PI.T TOP PL child and

1. If students from the barrios[1] want to go to school at the National High School here on Agutaya, first, they come here together with their parents.

2. Since we have acquaintances from the barrios, of course their parents come along and present (themselves) at our house to see whether or not they (the students) will be received.

3. Now, so, we say, "Let's set some conditions first.

4. Let's discuss this with the young people and with you, their parents.

[1] These barrios refer to the other islands within the municipality of Agutaya. Agutaya Island is where the municipal government and only high school are located. People rely on relatives or friends on Agutaya to offer a place for their children to live while attending high school. The parents provide rice but the children must find their own viand. Usually the boarders cook separately from the rest of the household. They are expected to help with chores around the house.

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yamong ginikanan tang mga mola. 5. Onopa paoyon amo ka
yamo =ang ginikanan tang mga mola ono =pa paoyon amo ka
2P.F =LKR parents DEF PL child what =Q agree 2P.T EXP

ong kondision? 6. Ang kondision ang asia ong mga mola
ong kondision ang kondision ang asia ong mga mola
OBL condition TOP condition LKR D2 OBL PL child

ganing tang ordin ong nira. 7. Ba-lo ami magrisibi,
ga =aning tang ordin ong nira ba-lo ami mag =risibi
IMP,AF =say TOP order OBL 3P.O before 1PE.T INF,AF =receive

dapat amo magparet ka tang yamen ang mga disposision ong
dapat amo mag =paret ka tang yamen ang mga disposision ong
should 2P.T INF,AF =obey EXP DEF 1PE.O LKR PL rule OBL

nindio. 8. Tenged ong primiro, masinlo kaman tang
nindio tenged ong primiro ma =sinlo kaman tang
2P.O because OBL first ADJ =nice indeed TOP

pamagailalan amen tang mga ginikanan mi, risibien amo
pamag--an =ilala amen tang mga ginikanan mi risibi =en amo
NLR,RECIP =know 1PE.G DEF PL parents 2P.G receive =INF,GF 2P.T

yamen. 9. Piro mga mola, yami magrisibi ong nindio, maning
yamen piro mga mola yami mag =risibi ong nindio maning
1PE.O but PL child 1PE.F INF,AF =receive OBL 2P.O like

ta na tarin ong yamen ang toromanen ong teled tang balay...
ta nani tarin ong yamen ang toromanen ong teled tang balay
GEN D1 LOC1 OBL 1PE.O LKR rules OBL inside DEF house

10. Ang ordin amen ong nindio: bawal tang maginem tarin ong
ang ordin amen ong nindio bawal tang mag =inem tarin ong
TOP order 1PE.G OBL 2P.O prohibit TOP INF,AF =drink LOC1 OBL

teled tang balay asta ong loa. 11. Yadoa, bawal ang
teled tang balay asta ong loa ya =doroa bawal ang
inside DEF house and OBL out ORD =two prohibit TOP

magpanaw ang labi ra. 12. Kaministiran alas sais
mag =panaw ang labii ra ka--an =ministir alas sais
INF,AF =walk when night already NLR =need o'clock six

tarin da ong balay. 13. Ong ya-lo, dapat tomabang
tarin da ong balay ong ya =tolo dapat tabang =om
LOC1 already OBL house OBL ORD =three should help =INF,AF

5. Let's see if you are in agreement with the conditions.

6. These conditions on the children are, let's say, their orders.

7. Before we accept you, you should obey our rules for you.

8. Because first of all, since we have a good acquaintance with your parents, we will accept you.

9. But children, (if) we receive you, it's like this with our regulations in our house...

10. Our orders to you are: it is prohibited to drink here in the house as well as outside.

11. Second, it's prohibited to go out at night.

12. You need to be here in the house by six o'clock.

13. Thirdly, you should help with whatever work there is to do here

amo tang onopay obra tarin ong teled tang balay,
amo tang ono =pa =ay obra tarin ong teled tang balay
2P.T DEF what =Q =INV work LOC1 OBL inside DEF house

manlimpio tang dibabaw may ang tanek. 14. Ig yadoa pa
mang =limpio tang dibabaw may ang tanek ig ya =doroa pa
INF,AF =clean DEF upstairs and DEF earth and ORD =two yet

mga mola, dapat magkopirar amo ong tata may tata agod
mga mola dapat mag =kopirar amo ong taata may taata agod
PL child should INF,AF =cooperate 2P.T OBL one and one so.that

para masinlo tang yaten ang pamagara-penan tarin ong
para ma =sinlo tang yaten ang pamag--VR--an =a-pen tarin ong
in.order ADJ =nice TOP 1PI.O LKR NLR,RECIP =join.in LOC1 OBL

teled tang balay. 15. Asia ya lamang ay yen ang maning
teled tang balay asia ya lamang ay yen ang ma =aning
inside DEF house D2 PRO only INV 1S.O LKR INF,GF =say

ong nindio."
ong nindio
OBL 2P.O

in the house,
cleaning the
upstairs and the
yard.
14. And secondly
also children, you
should cooperate
with one another so
that our living
together will be
pleasant here in
this house.

15. That is all I
have to say to you."

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Molika kang Molik
Do Come Home

This fictitious letter was written at the request of the researcher by Jerry Caab (27 years old) in 1987. It communicates the importance of family, and exemplifies a request from the heart.

1. Dir Manong,
dir manong
dear elder.brother

1. Dear Brother,

2. Balampa ong kaloy tang Dios ay mo-ya ka tang niong
balampa ong kaloy tang Dios ay ma =o-ya ka tang nio =ang
DESID OBL grace DEF God INV ADJ =good EXP TOP 2S.O =LKR

sinangoni atan. 3. Ig mga yo tang niong
sinangoni atan ig mga yo tang nio =ang
body LOC2 and if 1S.F TOP 2S.O =LKR

2. I hope that by God's grace you are in good health there.
3. And if you want to know about me (lit. I am the one you greet) I am also fine. 4. Elder Brother, I am twenty-seven years old now.

pakomostan ay mo-ya ka. 4. Manong, yo ay
pa =komosta =an ay ma =o-ya ka Manong yo ay
CAUS =greeting =INF,RF INV ADJ =good also elder.bro 1S.F INV

binti siti anios da. 5. Ong teled ta nang
binti siti anios da ong teled ta nani =ang
twenty seven years already OBL inside GEN D1 =LKR

5. In all these years of mine I have never seen you.

idadong narin ay india pa gitaeno.
idad =o =ang narin ay indi =a pa ag--en =ita =o
age =1S.G =LKR LOC1 INV NEG1 =2S.T yet IMP,GF =see =1S.G

6. Galiliago man ang magigita ong nio ay
gaa =CV =liag =o man ang magig =ita ong nio ay
IMP,STAT =PL =want =1S.T CONCESS LKR SOC =see OBL 2S.O INV

indi ka poidi tenged anda ra kay aroman tang mga
indi ka poidi tenged anda ra ka =ay aroman tang mga
NEG1 EXP can because NEG3 already EXP =INV companion DEF PL

6. And even if I should want to (come to) meet you I cannot because our parents have no companion here.

ginikanan ta tani. 7. Na, Manong, bebego ong
ginikanan ta tani nani manong CV =beg =o ong
parents 1PI.G LOC1 D1 elder.brother IMP,GF =say =1S.G OBL

7. I am telling you this, brother.

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nio. 8. Si tatay may si nanay ay mepet da. 9. Indi
nio si tatay may si nanay ay meepet da indi
2S.O PM.T father and PM.T mother INV old already NEG1

ra poiding magobra mga isipen ta tenged
ra poidi =ang mag =obra mga isip =en ta tenged
already can =LKR INF,AF =work if think =INF,GF 1PI.G because

malolobay da. 10. Sia, tanira bibilang da lamang
ma =CV =lobay da asia tanira CV =bilang da lamang
ADJ =PL =slow already D2 3P.F IMP,AF =count already only

tang oras nira. 11. Sigoro yawa ay neman kang ana para
tang oras nira sigoro yawa ay neeman ka =ang ana para
TOP time 3P.G maybe 2S.F INV thoughtful EXP =LKR child for

maliag ang magigbagat pa ka mintras boi pa tang mga
ma =liag ang magig =bagat pa ka mintras boi pa tang mga
INF,STAT =want LKR SOC =meet yet EXP while alive yet TOP PL

ginikanan ta. 12. Tenged na doro kambeng ong yaten
ginikanan ta tenged nani doro ka =ambeng ong yaten
parents 1PI.G because D1 much INTENS =happy OBL 1PI.O

ang ginikanan ang gaita ong ana na ang
ang ginikanan ang gaa =ita ong ana na ang
LKR parents LKR IMP,STAT =see OBL child 3S.G LKR

naboay dang nagalin, pariho tong nio,
na =boay da =ang nag =alin pariho tong nio
PERF,STAT =long.time already =LKR PERF,AF =leave same OBL 2S.O

Manong. 13. Belag lamang ang mga ginikanan ta asta yo,
manong belag lamang ang mga ginikanan ta asta yo
elder.brother NEG2 only TOP PL parents 1PI.G as.well.as 1S.F

ang mga logod ta, may ang mga parinti ta.
ang mga logod ta may ang mga parinti ta
TOP PL sibling 1PI.G and TOP PL relative 1PI.G

14. Sigoro yawa mga isipeno ay galiliag
sigoro yawa mga isip =en =o ay gaa =CV =liag
maybe 2S.F if think =INF,GF =1S.G INV IMP,STAT =PL =want

kang maita pa tang mga mepet ta asta ang
ka =ang ma =ita pa tang mga meepet ta asta ang
EXP =LKR INF,STAT =see yet TOP PL old 1PI.G as.well.as TOP1

8. Father and mother are old now. 9. They can no longer work, if we think about it, because they are weak.

10. As for them, their days are numbered (lit. hours are counted). 11. You are probably a thoughtful (enough) son to want to see our parents again while they are still alive.

12. Because this (would make) our parents very happy to see their child who left long ago, like you, brother.

13. Not only our parents, but also me, our brothers and sisters, and our relatives.

14. Perhaps you, too, when I think about it, also want to see our old folks, as well as our brothers and sisters whom you no longer see.

mga logod tang indi ra ka gitaen mo.
mga logod ta =ang indi ra ka ag--en =ita mo
PL sibling 1PI.G =LKR NEG1 already EXP IMP,GF =see 2S.G

15. Indio ka ganing ang magpirmia ra
indi =o ka ga =aning ang mag =pirmi =a ra
NEG1 =1S.T EXP IMP,AF =say LKR INF,AF =always =2S.T already

tani mga atan tang obra mo. 16. Ang maliago lamang
tani mga atan tang obra mo ang ma =liag =o lamang
LOC1 if LOC2 TOP work 2S.G TOP INF,STAT =want =1S.T only

yaning ay maski magbakasiona lamang ta
i =aning ay maski mag =bakasion =a lamang ta
INF,GF =say INV even.if INF,AF =vacation =2S.T only GEN

pirapang kaldaw. 17. Sigoro galiaga
pira =pa =ang kaldaw sigoro gaa =liag =a
how.many =Q =LKR day maybe IMP,STAT =want =2S.T

kang maita tang banoang dona
ka =ang ma =ita tang banoa =ang doon =a
EXP =LKR INF,STAT =see DEF town =LKR LOC3 =2S.T

pinangana nau[1] onoray gatabo,
in =pangana na ono =ra =ay gaa =tabo
PERF,GF =give.birth COMP what =already =INV IMP,STAT =happen

na onopa gasinso pa ka obin anda ra.
na ono =pa gaa =asinso pa ka obin anda ra
COMP what =Q IMP,STAT =progress yet EXP or NEG3 already

18. Animan, Manong, pagtaligo na
animan manong pag =talig =o na
therefore elder.brother IMP,AF =trust =1S.T COMP

molika kang molik.
m =olik =a ka =ang m =olik
INF,AF=go.home =2S.T EXP =LKR INF,AF =go.home

15. I am not saying that you should stay here permanently if you have your work there. 16. All I mean to say is that even if you would just spend a few days' vacation here.

17. Maybe you also would like to see the town where you were born, what is happening there, whether it is progressing or not.

18. So, brother, I am trusting that you really will come home.

[1] The complementizer **na**, borrowed from Tagalog, occurs in the speech of the younger generation, who have been educated in that language. Older speakers would probably use **ang** or **nga** in this environment.

19. Magelat aming magelat.
mag =elat ami =ang mag =elat
INF,AF =wait 1PE.T =LKR INF,AF =wait

19. We will be waiting.[2]

20. Komosta ra lamang.
komosta ra lamang
greeting already only

20. Greetings.

21. Ang pagmal ang logod mo,
ang pag =mal ang logod mo
TOP IMP,AF =love LKR sibling 2S.G

21. Your loving brother,

22. Jerry
Jerry
Jerry

22. Jerry

[2] The intensive nature of the waiting conveyed by the double verb is not easily translated.

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Ang Nagsoayan
Ones who Quarrelled

This short dramatic dialogue was also written by Jerry Caab at the request of the researcher. It demonstrates the high values placed on getting along well with others, and the negative value on anger. Here an intermediary helps two quarreling friends make amends with each other. Disagreements do not always require the help of an intermediary, but a third party can often be of some help. An ideal intermediary is a well-known, well-educated, highly respected authority figure. But everyday friends may also serve effectively in this role, as illustrated in this drama.

1. Alimbawa ta tatang taw ang pagpatomboy
alimbawa ta taata =ang taw ang pag =pa =tomboy
example 1Pl.G one =LKR person LKR IMP,AF =CAUS =reconcile

obin pagpabogno ta doroang taw ang
obin pag =pa =bogno ta doroa =ng taw ang
or IMP,AF =CAUS =speak.to GEN two =LKR person LKR

pagsoayan, mga ang pinagsoayan nira ay tenged ong
pag--an =soay mga ang pinag--an =soay nira ay tenged ong
IMP,RECIP =fight if TOP PERF,RF =fight 3P.G INV because OBL

baskitbol.
baskitbol
basketball

1. (This is) an example of a person who reconciles or gets together two people who have been fighting, when what they had fought about had to do with basketball.[1]

2. Si Pedro may si Juan nagpostan ta koarta.
si Pedro may si Juan nag--an =posta ta koarta
PM.T Pedro and PM.T Juan PERF,RECIP =bet GEN money

2. Pedro and Juan bet some money.

3. Nandeg si Pedro, indi nagbayad si Juan.
nang =deeg si Pedro indi nag =bayad si Juan
PERF, =win PM.T Pedro NEG1 PERF,AF =pay PM.T Juan

3. Pedro won, but Juan didn't pay up.

4. Dorong kasilag si Pedro tenged pisan
doro =ng ka =silag si Pedro tenged pisan
very =LKR INTENS =angry PM.T Pedro because indeed

tanandiang pinilayan.
tanandia =ang in--an =pilay
3S.F =LKR PERF,RF =tired

4. Pedro was very angry because he was so tired.

5. Mga may ge-ley pa
mga may ge-ley pa
if exist nearly yet

5. They nearly came to blows (and would have) if the

[1] Basketball is a popular game on Agutaya. Young men often gather in the plaza in the afternoon to play informally. It is also a popular sport for competition at fiesta time.

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nagsontokan tanira, mga indi kinabotan ta polis.
nag--an =sontok tanira mga indi in--an =kabot ta polis
PERF,RECIP =hit 3P.F if NEG1 PERF,RF =arrive GEN police

police hadn't shown up.

6. Mandian si Terio natako. 7. Pariong tangay na
mandian si Terio naa =tako pario =ng tangay na
now PM.T Terio PERF,ABL,AF =know same =LKR friend 3S.G

si Pedro may si Juan, animan galiagan nang
si Pedro may si Juan animan ga--an =liag na =ang
PM.T Pedro and PM.T Juan therefore IMP,RF =want 3S.G =LKR

papagtomboyon tang doroa. 8. Napaning ong balay
pa =pag--on =tomboy tang doroa na =paning ong balay
CAUS =GF =reconcile TOP two PERF,AF =go OBL house

ni Pedro, tenged si Pedro tang dorong kasilag.
ni Pedro tenged si Pedro tang doro =ng ka =silag
PM.G Pedro because PM.T Pedro TOP very =LKR INTENS =angry

6. Now, Terio found out about what happened.
7. He was friends with both Pedro and Juan, so he wanted to get them back together.
8. He went to Pedro's house, because Pedro was the one who was so angry.

9. Mandian pagampang da tanira.
mandian pag =ampang da tanira
now IMP,AF =converse already 3P.F

9. Now they are talking together.

10. Terio: "Pedro, komosta. 11. Balitao, pagsoayan amo
Terio Pedro komosta balita =o pag--an =soay amo
Terio Pedro greetings news =1S.G IMP,RECIP =fight 2P.T

ni Juan. 12. Onopa tang nagikanan?"
ni Juan ono =pa tang na--an =gikan
PM.G Juan what =Q TOP PERF,ABL,RF =source

10. Terio: "Hi, Pedro. 11. I hear that you and Juan are fighting.
12. How come?"

13. Pedro: "Dayador onopa si Juan. 14. Ang
Pedro daya =dor ono =pa si Juan ang
Pedro cheat =NLR what =Q PMKR1 Juan TOP

ampangan postan, pagatapos asing napirdi
ampang =an posta =an paga =tapos asi =ang na =pirdi
converse =NLR bet =NLR after =then when =LKR PERF,STAT =lose

13. Pedro: "Because Juan is a cheat, that's why.
14. He talks about bets, and then when he loses, he won't pay up.

ra, indi ra magbayad. 15. Animan yo
ra indi ra mag =bayad animan yo
already NEG1 already INF,AF =pay therefore 1S.F

gasilago ong nandia."
gaa =silag =o ong nandia
IMP,STAT =angry =1S.T OBL 3S.O

15. So I'm angry at him."

16. Terio: "Pedro, masilaga man ay
Terio Pedro ma =silag =a man ay
Terio Pedro INF,STAT =angry =2S.T CONCESS INV

natabo ra. 17. Anda ra kay
naa =tabo ra anda ra ka =ay
PERF,STAT =happen already NEG3 already EXP =INV

maboat ta. 18. Pasinsiaen mo ra lamang si
ma =boat ta pasinsia =en mo ra lamang si
INF,ABL,GF =do 1PI.G forgive =INF,GF 2S.G already only PM.T

Juan. 19. Total, tangay ta ka. 20. Asta mga magkasilaga,
Juan total tangay ta ka asta mga magka =silag =a
Juan after.all friend 1PI.G EXP until if INF,AF =anger =2S.T

pagatapos nagbagat amo, nagsontokan obin mga may
paga =tapos nag =bagat amo nag--an =sontok obin mga may
after =then PERF,AF =meet 2P.T PERF,RECIP =hit or if exist

ekel ming ged nagsibatan amo pagatapos
ekel mi =ang geed nag--an =sibat amo paga =tapos
bring 2P.G =LKR bolo PERF,RECIP =cut.with.bolo 2P.T after =then

may napatay ong tata ong nindio, mas mabael pa ang
may na =patay ong taata ong nindio mas ma =bael pa ang
exist PERF,STAT =die OBL one OBL 2P.O more ADJ =big yet TOP

problima. 21. Indio galiag ang matabo ong
problima indi =o gaa =liag ang ma =tabo ong
problem NEG1 =1S.T IMP,STAT =want LKR INF,STAT =happen OBL

yaten ang pamagtangay tenged ang nagikanan ay
yaten ang pamag =tangay tenged ang na--an =gikan ay
1PI.O LKR NLR,PL =friend because TOP PERF,RF =source INV

baskitbol ka lamang. 22. Pag indi amo nagtomboyan
baskitbol ka lamang pag indi amo nag--an =tomboy
basketball EXP only when NEG1 2P.T PERF,RECIP =reconcile

indi ita ra mapagkayam ta baskitbol, tenged korang
indi ita ra mapag =kayam ta baskitbol tenged korang
NEG1 1PI.T already INF,ABL,AF =play GEN basketball because lack

ita ra. 22. Ta, Pedro, pasinsiaen mo ra lamang,
ita ra ta Pedro pasinsia =en mo ra lamang
1PI.T already INTJ Pedro forgive =INF,GF 2S.G already only

16. Terio: "Pedro, angry or no, it's already happened.
17. There's nothing we can do about it.

18. Just forgive Juan.

19. After all, he is our friend. 20. And if you get mad, and then you meet each other, you might get in a fistfight or if you're carrying bolos you might cut each other up and then one of you would die and that would be a bigger problem still.

21. I don't want that to happen to our friendship just on account of basketball.

22. If you don't get right with each other, we won't be able to play basketball anymore, because there won't be enough of us.
22. So, Pedro, just forgive him, OK?

a? 23. Komiteno ra tanandia para
a komit =en =o ra tanandia para
TAG get =INF,GF =1S.G already 3S.F in.order

magampang amo."
mag =ampang amo
INF,AF =converse 2P.T

23. I'll go and get him so that the two of you can talk."

24. Pagbalik na, ekel na si Juan.
pag =balik na ekel na si Juan
when =return 3S.G bring 3S.G PM.T Juan

24. When he returns, he has Juan with him.

25. Terio: "Pedro, nani ra si Juan. 26. Juan, india
Terio Pedro nani ra si Juan Juan indi =a
Terio Pedro D1 already PM.T Juan Juan NEG1 =2S.T

meled tenged indi ra gasilag si Pedro ong
m =eled tenged indi ra gaa =silag si Pedro ong
INF,AF =fear because NEG1 already IMP,STAT =angry PM.T Pedro OBL

nio."
nio
2S.O

25. Terio: "Pedro, here's Juan. 26. Juan, don't be afraid because Pedro is no longer mad at you."

27. Juan: "Pedro, pasinsia ra lamang. 28. Onopa ang yen
Juan Pedro pasinsia ra lamang ono =pa ang yen
Juan Pedro forgive already only what =Q TOP 1S.O

intirimis ka lamang, tenged anda kay koartao.
intirimis ka lamang tenged anda ka =ay koarta =o
joke EXP only because NEG3 EXP =INV money =1S.G

27. Juan: "Sorry, Pedro. 28. You know I was just joking, because I didn't even have any money.

29. Galiago lamang ang magkayam ita ta
gaa =liag =o lamang ang mag =kayam ita ta
IMP,STAT =want =1S.T only LKR INF,AF =play 1PI.T GEN

masinlo, tenged mga anday postan, anday sayod tang
ma =sinlo tenged mga anda =ay posta =an anda =ay sayod tang
ADJ =nice because if NEG3 =INV bet =NLR no =INV good TOP

kayam ta. 30. Anday bali. 31. Mga may koartao ra,
kayam ta anda =ay bali mga may koarta =o ra
play 1PI.G NEG3 =INV matter if exist money =1S.G already

bayadana lamang yen."
bayad =an =a lamang yen
pay =INF,RF =2S.T only 1S.O

29. I just wanted us to play well because if there's no betting our game isn't any good.

30. No matter.
31. When I get some money, I will pay you."

32. Pedro: "Juan, indi ra.
Pedro Juan indi ra
Pedro Juan NEG1 already

33. Indio ra ka
indi =o ra ka
NEG1 =1S.T already also

gasilag.
gaa =silag
IMP,STAT =angry

34. Sigoro agpilayano lamang, animan
sigoro ag--an =pilay =o lamang animan
maybe IMP,RF =tired =1S.T only therefore

indi ita nagintindian.
indi ita nag--an =intindi
NEG1 1PI.T PERF,RECIP =understand

32. Pedro:
"Juan, never mind.
33. I'm not mad anymore.
34. Maybe I was just tired, so we had a misunderstanding (lit. didn't understand each other)."

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Monopa tang Pagdaing ta Yan
How to Dry Fish

This procedural text, written by Jerry Caab in 1987, explains a process known to every Agutaynen — drying fish. Most Agutaynen families dry fish only on a small scale, when they have caught more than they (and any close relatives or neighbors) can use in one day.

1. Mga galiliagang magdaing ta
mga gaa =CV =liag =a =ang mag =daing ta
if IMP,STAT =PL =want =2S.T =LKR INF,AF =dry.fish GEN

yadi kaministiran yawa komplito ka ta gamit. 2. Ang mga
yadi ka--an =ministir yawa komplito ka ta gamit ang mga
many NLR =need 2S.F complete EXP GEN things TOP PL

gamit ay kahon, kasin, tiklis, asta magboata ka ta
gamit ay kahon kasin tiklis asta mag =boat =a ka ta
things INV box salt t.basket and INF,AF =make =2S.T EXP GEN

pala-pala[1] ang be-ladan tang daing.
pala-pala ang be-lad =an tang daing
drying.rack LKR dry =LOC DEF dried.fish

1. If you want to dry a lot of fish, you need to have everything ready. 2. The equipment consists of a wooden box, salt, a basket and you also need to make a drying rack for drying the fish on.

3. Ang pagdaing ay maning ta na. 4. Mga ngani
ang pag =daing ay maning ta nani mga ngani
TOP NLR =dry.fish INV like GEN D1 if indeed

pamakala lamang ta yan ong pamagbila, sia
paang =bakal =a lamang ta yan ong pamag =bila asia
IMP,AF =buy =2S.T only GEN fish OBL IMF,PL,AF =hook D2

yading lagi tang agbakalen. 5. Ig mga yadi tang yan,
yadi =ang lagi tang ag--en =bakal ig mga yadi tang yan
many =LKR immediately TOP IMP,GF =buy and if many TOP fish

na yadi ka tang pagobra. 6. May tagasisi, pagatapos
nani yadi ka tang pag =obra may taga =sisi paga =tapos
D1 many EXP TOP IMP,AF =work exist NLR =scale after =then

3. Drying fish is done like this. 4. If you are buying fish directly from the fishermen, you buy a lot at once.

5. And if there's a lot of fish, this means (you need) many people to do the work. 6. There's the person who does the scaling, then he gives (the fish) to the one who slices them open, or does the drying.

[1] **Pala-pala** normally refers to a temporary shelter which uses coconut palm fronds for protection from the sun. Here the purpose is for exposure to the sun. The cut fish are spread to dry on top of a temporary structure, preferably high enough up to be out of reach of cats and dogs.

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i-dol ong tagageret obin tagadaing. 7. Pag
i =torol ong taga =geret obin taga =daing pag
INF,GF =give OBL NLR =slice or NLR =dry.fish when

drying. 7. Once they have been sliced open, then the fish is given to the one who does the cleaning.

nagereta da ngani sia don da ong tagalimpio.
na--an =geret da ngani asia doon da ong taga =impio
PERF,ABL,RF =slice already indeed D2 LOC3 already OBL NLR =clean

8. Pag nalimpio ra sia ibetang da
pag na =limpio ra asia i =betang da
when PERF,ABL,GF =clean already D2 INF,GF =put already

8. Once they are cleaned, then they are placed in the wooden box.

don ong kahon. 9. Ang kahon ang asia ay agbetangan ta talsi
doon ong kahon ang kahon ang asia ay ag--an =betang ta talsi
LOC3 OBL box TOP box LKR D2 INV IMP,RF =put GEN sea

9. This box is filled with sea water and salt.

may kasin. 10. Ong teled ta magdamal, mga ngani kinit
may kasin ong teled ta mag =damal mga ngani kinit
and salt OBL inside GEN INF,AF =morning if indeed hot

10. After one night, if it's hot and sunny the next morning, the fish can be laid out to dry on the rack.

pagaramal, sia poidi rang ibe-lad don ong
paga =damal asia poidi ra =ng i =be-lad doon ong
after =morning D2 can already =LKR INF,GF =dry LOC3 OBL

pala-pala. 11. Na, kaministiran patelek-telekan
pala-pala nani ka--an =ministir pa =telek =REDUP =an
drying.rack D1 NLR =need CAUS =look =DIMIN =INF,RF

11. Now, you need to keep an eye on the fish, because sometimes it rains and sometimes it gets eaten by crows.

mo ka, tenged teta kokoran ig teta
mo ka tenged teeta CV =koran ig teeta
2S.G EXP because sometimes IMP,AF =rain and sometimes

agpanganen ta mga ogak. 12. Ang mga yan ang
ag--en =pangan ta mga ogak ang mga yan ang
IMP,GF =eat GEN PL crow TOP PL fish LKR

12. Medium sized fish, they'll dry within two days, as long as it's hot and sunny.

kasarangan tang kabael na, ong teled ta doroang
ka--an =sarang tang ka =bael na ong teled ta doroa =ang
NLR =sufficient TOP NLR =big 3S.G OBL inside GEN two =LKR

kaldaw basta dorong kinit, sia galangong lagi.
kaldaw basta dorong kinit asia gaa =lango =ang lagi
day as.long.as very hot D2 IMP,STAT =dry LKR immediately

13. Ang mababael teta agkabotan ta epat ang
ang ma =CV =bael teeta ag--an =kabot ta epat ang
TOP ADJ =PL =big sometimes IMP,RF =reach GEN four LKR

13. Big fish sometimes take up to four days.

kaldaw. 14. Kaministiran mga langō ra, may betangan
kaldaw ka--an =ministir mga langō ra may betang =an
day NLR =need if dry already exist put =INF,RF

mo ka tang langong daing. 15. Na, karakelan ang
mo ka tang langō =ang daing nani ka--an =dakel ang
2S.G EXP TOP dry =LKR dried.fish D1 NLR =most LKR

agbetangan ay tiklis.
ag--an =betang ay tiklis
IMP,RF =put INV t.basket

16. Mandian ong paragpabakalen tang daing. 17. Poidi
mandian ong pag--Vr--en =pa =bakal tang daing poidi
now OBL NLR =CAUS =buy DEF dry.fish can

kang ipabakal tang daing ong tingi-tingi
ka =ang i =pa =bakal tang daing ong tingi =REDUP
EXP =LKR INF,GF =CAUS =buy TOP dry.fish OBL bit =DIMIN

lamang. 18. Ig poidi ka tang golpian ang pabakal.
lamang ig poidi ka tang golpi =an ang pa =bakal
only and can EXP TOP sudden =INF,RF LKR CAUS =buy

19. Basta india lamang malogi. 20. Ang
basta indi =a lamang ma =logi ang
as.long.as NEG1 =2S.T only INF,STAT =lose.money TOP

golpian sia may ampangan ming lagi
golpi =an asia may ampang =an mi =ang lagi
sudden =INF,RF D2 exist converse =INF,RF 2P.G =LKR immediately

tang mamakal, mga yamo pa tang magated obin tanira tang
tang mang =bakal mga yamo pa tang mag =ated obin tanira tang
TOP INF,AF =buy if 2P.F still TOP INF,AF =deliver or 3P.F TOP

mangomit. 21. Sigon ong nindiong ampangan.
mang =komit sigon ong nindio =ang ampang =an
INF,AF =get in.accordance OBL 2P.O =LKR converse =INF,RF

22. Mandian mga galiliagang
mandian mga gaa =CV =liag =a =ang
now if IMP,STAT =PL =want =2S.T =LKR

magdaing ta pantera lamang indi ra
mag =daing ta pang =tera lamang indi ra
INF,AF =dry.fish GEN INST =viand only NEG1 already

14. When they are dry, you need something to put the dried fish into.
15. Usually what the fish are put in are tiklis baskets.

16. Now about selling dried fish.
17. The dried fish can be sold a little at a time.

18. And it can also be sold all at once.

19. Just as long as you don't lose money. 20. If it's all at once you and the buyer first have an agreement, whether you will be the one to deliver or they will pick it up.

21. It depends on your agreement.

22. Now if you just want to dry fish for your own viand, there's no need for any wooden box or rack.

kaministiran ta kahon obin pala-pala. 23. Maski
ka--an =ministir ta kahon obin pala-pala maski
NLR =need GEN box or drying.rack even

tambilogang magobra, tenged sia ge-ley ka lamang.
tang =bilog =a =ang mag =obra tenged asia ge-ley ka lamang
one =piece =2S.T =LKR INF,AF =work because D2 small EXP only

23. You can even just do the work yourself, because that's just a small amount.

24. Ig ang yan agbetangan dang lagi ta kasin
ig ang yan ag--an =betang da =ang lagi ta kasin
and TOP fish IMP,RF =put already =LKR immediately GEN salt

ong gineretan. 25. Pagatapos mga natonaw da
ong in--an =geret paga =tapos mga na =tonaw da
OBL PERF,RF =slice after =then if PERF,STAT =dissolve already

tang kasin, sia poidi mo rang ogatan ta wi
tang kasin asia poidi mo ra =ang ogat =an ta wi
TOP salt D2 can 2S.G already =LKR wash =INF,RF GEN water

24. And the fish is salted right away where it is sliced.

25. Then after the salt has dissolved, you can wash off the fish with water so it can be dried.

para mapakaldaw. 26. Pag lango ra sia poidi
para ma =pa =kaldaw pag langa ra asia poidi
in.order INF,ABL,GF =CAUS =sun when dry already D2 can

rang teraen.
ra =ang tera =en
already =LKR viand =INF,GF

26. Once it's dried it can be used for viand.

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Paragloaken ta Paray
Planting Rice

This text was written by Teofila Avanceña in 1987 at the request of research assistant Pedrito Z. Labrador. The writer was 50 years old at the time. The text describes how upland (dry) rice is planted on Agutaya Island. There is one crop per year. Fields are cleared, burned and prepared for rice planting during the months of March, April and May. The rice is planted in early or mid May, just before the rains start, and harvested in August and September.

1. Ang masayodo ay natetenged ong
ang ma =sayod =o ay natetenged ong
TOP INF,ABL,GF =explain =1S.G INV about OBL

paragloaken ta paray. 2. Primirong agboaten tang
pag--Vr--en =loak ta paray primiro =ang ag--en =boat tang
NLR =plant GEN rice first =LKR IMP,GF =make DEF

karakelan tarin ong Agutaya ay ang manliri.[1]
ka--an =dakel tarin ong Agutaya ay ang mang =liri
NLR =major LOC1 OBL Agutaya INV TOP INF,AF =clear.land

3. Asiang manliri ay ang pagpotol tang mga ayo,
asia =ang mang =liri ay ang pag =potol tang mga ayo
D2 =LKR INF,AF =clear.land INV TOP NLR =cut.off DEF PL tree

ig pagsi-sip tang mga balagen obin mga ibabawen ong koma.[2]
ig pag =si-sip tang mga balagen obin mga ibabawen ong koma
and NLR =hack DEF PL vines or PL weeds OBL field

4. Dorong klasi ta ayo, pario tang lomboy, malabogo, ig doma
doro =ang klasi ta ayo pario tang lomboy malabogo ig doma
many =LKR kinds GEN tree same TOP java.plum m.tree and other

pa. 5. Asi mga tatang klasi lamang ta mga ayong
pa asii mga taata =ang klasi lamang ta mga ayo =ang
still D3 PL one =LKR kinds only GEN PL tree =LKR

1. What I'm going to explain is about planting rice.

2. The first thing that most people do here on Agutaya is clear the land.

3. Clearing land means to cut down trees, and hack vines or weeds in the fields.

4. There are many kinds of trees, like the java plum, the **malabogo** and others. 5. Those are just one type of the trees which are cut down here.

[1] **Manliri** is the term for clearing the land of trees and brush. **Mandolok** refers to the lighter work of clearing the field of rocks and smaller branches which are burned in the field.
[2] The fields are small plots bordered by stone walls. An average plot yields about three large sacks of unhusked rice.

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agpe-peten tarin. 6. Belag lamang tang pirming
ag--en =pe-pet tarin belag lamang tang pirmi =ang
IMP,GF =cut.down LOC1 NEG2 only TOP always =LKR

agkomaen tang aglirien, kondi panliri pa
ag--en =koma tang ag--en =liri kondi paang =liri pa
IMP,GF =field TOP IMP,GF =clear.land but IMP,AF =clear.land still

ka tang doma ong kageban, ig ong katalonan.
ka tang doma ong ka--an =geba ig ong ka--an =talon
EXP TOP other OBL NLR =woods and OBL NLR =wild

7. Tapos ang mga ayong asi agga-tapan ta mo-ya
tapos ang mga ayo =ang asii ag--an =a-tap ta m =o-ya
then TOP PL tree =LKR D3 IMP,RF =hack.bark GEN ADJ =well

para madaling malango. 8. Agpotol-potolon
para ma =dali =ang ma =langgo ag--on =potol =REDUP
in.order ADJ =quick =LKR INF,STAT =dry IMP,GF =cut.off =DIMIN

ig aggimesen. 9. Ang mababael ang ayo
ig ag--en =imes ang ma =CV =bael ang ayo
and IMP,GF =gather TOP ADJ =PL =big LKR tree

agpabinit, ig ang gege-ley ang poiding
ag =paa =binit ig ang CV =ge-ley ang poidi =ang
IMP,GF =CAUS =side and TOP PL =small LKR can =LKR

idapog ay agbo-wanan ong ka-ngan para
i =dapog ay ag--an =bo-wan ong ka--an =tenga para
INF,GF =burn INV IMP,RF =leave OBL NLR =half in.order

sirokon. 10. Agpalangon ta mo-ya ba-lo
sirok =on ag--on =pa =langgo ta m =o-ya ba-lo
burn =INF,GF IMP,GF =CAUS =dry GEN ADJ =well before

magimpisang magpaligid. 11. Ang pagpaligid ay
mag =impisa =ang mag =paligid ang pag =paligid ay
INF,AF =begin =LKR INF,AF =burn.fields TOP NLR =burn.fields INV

pagsirok tang mga nalango ang dapog oman
pag =sirok tang mga na =langgo ang dapog oman
NLR =burn DEF PL PERF,STAT =dry LKR burn then

betengen tang kamang agod lobot ang malimpioan
beteng =en tang kamang agod lobot ang ma--an =limpio
pull =INF,GF TOP rake so.that consume LKR INF,ABL,RF =clean

6. It's not just the fields that are always cultivated which are cleared, some people also clear land in the woods and bush.

7. Then the bark of those trees is cut up so that it will quickly dry out. 8. They are cut into pieces and gathered up.

9. The big trees are put to the side, and the small ones which can be put in the fire are left in the middle to be burned.

10. These are allowed to get good and dry before beginning to burn the fields. 11. In burning the fields, the dried brush and trees are burned and then a rake is used so that the entire field is cleaned.

tang koma. 12. Aglalatag mga poidi ra obin ariglado
tang koma agCV =latag mga poidi ra obin ariglado
TOP field IMP,GF =spread.out if can already or ready

ra tang tanan para magimpisang magpaligid,
ra tang tanan para mag =impisa =ang mag =paligid
already TOP all in.order INF,AF =begin =LKR INF,AF =burn.fields

asia ang bolan ta Marso obin Abril.
asia ang bolan ta Marso obin Abril
D2 when month GEN March or April

12. The brush is all spread out when everything is ready to begin burning the fields, that's in the month of March or April.

13. Mga tapos da ngani tang mga taw ang
mga tapos da ngani tang mga taw ang
if finish already indeed DEF PL person LKR

magpaligid, asia pamagelat da lamang tang
mag =paligid asia pamag =elat da lamang tang
INF,AF =burn.fields D2 IMP,AF =wait already only DEF

13. When the people are finished burning their fields, then they just wait for the first rainfall.

primirong pagbagsak tang koran. 14. Ang signos ta sia ay
primiro =ang pag =bagsak tang koran ang signos ta asia ay
first =LKR NLR =fall TOP rain TOP sign GEN D2 INV

ang kaldaw obin ang pagpa-let tang mageyep.
ang kaldaw obin ang pag =pa-let tang mageyep
TOP sun or TOP NLR =change DEF wind

14. The sign of rain is in the sun or when the wind changes.

15. Ang karakelan ang mga taw, ang
ang ka--an =dakel ang mga taw ang
TOP NLR =most LKR PL person LKR

pamagtogda obin pagloak ta paray ay
pamag =togda obin pag =loak ta paray ay
IMF,PL,AF =plant.with.dibble.stick or IMP,AF =plant GEN rice INV

15. The majority of the people, they dibble or plant rice in the month of May.

ong bolan ta Mayo. 16. Ang aggamiten nira ong
ong bolan ta Mayo ang ag--en =gamit nira ong
OBL month GEN May TOP IMP,GF =use 3P.G OBL

pagtogda ay ang kapotan ta kawayan ang
pag =togda ay ang kapotan ta kawayan ang
NLR =plant.with.dibble.stick INV TOP end GEN bamboo LKR

16. What they use in dibble stick planting is the end of a piece of bamboo with a blade attached to the end.

agbetangan ta omal ang ged ong kapotan na. 17. Asia
ag--an =betang ta omal ang ged ong kapotan na asia
IMP,RF =put GEN blade LKR machete OBL end 3S.G D2

17. That's what they use in making holes in the earth,

tang aggamiten nira ong pagboat ta boloat ong tanek,
tang ag--en =gamit nira ong pag =boat ta boloat ong tanek
TOP IMP,GF =use 3P.G OBL NLR =make GEN hole OBL earth

in order to plant them with rice.

para loakan ta paray. 18. Doma litap ka tang
para loak =an ta paray doma litap ka tang
in.order plant =INF,RF GEN rice other coconut.shell EXP TOP

18. Some use a coconut shell or a tin can as a container for the seeds to be planted, it depends on what they use in planting.

aggamiten nira obin lata para betangan tang
ag--en =gamit nira obin lata para betang =an tang
IMP,GF =use 3P.G or tin.can in.order put =LOC DEF

igtorobo, kompormi ong aggamiten ong
ig--Vr- =tobo kompormi ong ag--en =gamit ong
NLR =plant.in.hole conform OBL IMP,GF =use OBL

pagtorogdaen. 19. Doro tang mga taw ang
pag--Vr--en =togda doro tang mga taw ang
NLR =plant.rice many TOP PL person LKR

19. Many people help each other, so planting the seed doesn't take long.

pagtarabang-tabang animan indi maboay tang
pag =Vr =tabang =REDUP animan indi ma =boay tang
IMP,AF =PL =help =ITER therefore NEG1 INF.STAT =long.time TOP

pagtorobon tang binik. 20. Matapos da
pag--Vr--on =tobo tang biinik ma =tapos da
NLR =plant.in.hole DEF seed after =finish already

20. When the seeds have been planted, the children fill in the holes to cover up the seeds so that they won't be eaten by birds or chickens.

nganing toboan, ang mga mola
ngani =ang tobo =an ang mga mola
indeed =LKR plant.in.hole =INF,RF TOP PL child

pamaggibo agod matampekan tang binik, para
pamag =gibo agod ma--an =tampek tang biinik para
IMF,PL,AF =fill.in.hole so.that INF,ABL,RF =cover TOP seed in.order

indi tompiten ta lamlam obin mano. 21. Ig sia
indi tompit =en ta lamlam obin mano ig asia
NEG1 peck =INF,GF GEN bird or chicken and D2

21. And that's a dirty job.

dorong pongit. 22. Mga matapos da tang pagtogda,
doro =ang pongit mga ma =tapos da tang pag =togda
much =LKR dirt if after =finish already DEF NLR =plant rice

22. When the people are all finished planting the rice, they smear each other with dirt so that it will rain, they say. 23. Planting rice is fun.

pamagporongitan agod ono komoran. 23. Mambeng
pamag--Vr--an =pongit agod ono om =koran ma =ambeng
IMP,RECIP =dirt so.that RS INF,AF =rain ADJ =happy

tang pagtogda. 24. Animan ang mga boroaten ang asia ong
tang pag =togda animan ang mga -Vr-en =boat ang asia ong
TOP NLR =plant.rice therefore TOP PL NLR =make LKR D2 OBL

pagtogda, ay belag ka ta masiadong maliwag.
pag =togda ay belag ka ta masiado =ang ma =liwag
NLR =plant.rice INV NEG2 EXP GEN very =LKR ADJ =difficult

24. So the work involved in planting rice is not very difficult.

25. Ang taralongaen da lamang tang mga taw mga tapos
ang -Vr--en =talonga da lamang tang mga taw mga tapos
TOP NLR =face already only DEF PL person if finish

dang magtogda ay ang pagibabaw. 26. Asia ang
da =ang mag =togda ay ang pag =ibabaw asia ang
already =LKR INF,AF =plant.rice INV TOP NLR =weeds D2 TOP

aggamiten nira ged ka ang paranibabaw. 27. Ang
ag--en =gamit nira ged ka ang pang--Vr- =ibabaw ang
IMP,GF =use 3P.G bolo EXP LKR INST =weed TOP

panibabaw ay magbongkal tang mga ibabawen, para
pang =ibabaw ay mag =bongkal tang mga ibabawen para
NLR =weed INV INF,AF =pull.out DEF PL weeds in.order

malimpio ig masinlo tang plastada tang koma. 28. Animan
ma =limpio ig ma =sinlo tang plastada tang koma animan
ADJ =clean and ADJ =nice TOP appearance DEF field therefore

ang paranibabaw tatang importansia ong pagroloaken
ang pang--Vr- =ibabaw taata =ang importansia ong pag--Vr--en =loak
TOP NLR =weed one =LKR important OBL NLR =plant

25. The only time the people get together again after planting is to do the weeding.
26. For that they use a bolo that's for cutting weeds.
27. Weeding consists of pulling out weeds, so that the field will be clean and look nice.
28. So weeding is an important thing in planting rice.

tang paray. 29. Ang ibabawen ang asia ay tatang betang obin
tang paray ang ibabawen ang asia ay taata =ang betang obin
DEF rice TOP weeds LKR D2 INV one =LKR thing or

bagay ang magpaniwang tang iloloak.
bagay ang mag =pa =niwang tang iloloak
thing LKR INF,AF =CAUS =thin DEF plants

29. Those weeds are one thing which will cause the plants to be thin.

30. Pagpaboay ang magpalongay tang paray,
pag =paa =boay ang mag =pa =longay tang paray
IMP,AF =CAUS =long.time LKR INF,AF =CAUS =sprout DEF rice

(pagatraso ong pagbaraelen tang paray), ig pagtorol
pag =atraso ong pag--Vr--en =bael tang paray ig pag =torol
IMP,AF =delay OBL NLR =big DEF rice and IMP,AF =give

30. They make the rice take a long time to sprout, (they delay the growth of the rice), and they do the rice harm.

ta anday sayod ong mga paray. 31. Aggibabawan nira sia
ta anda =ay sayod ong mga paray ag--an =ibabaw nira asia
GEN no =INV good OBL PL rice IMP,RF =weed 3P.G D2

ta masinlo, ig para magimong limpio tang mga
ta ma =sinlo ig para mag =imong limpio tang mga
GEN ADJ =nice and in.order INF,AF =become clean TOP PL

komang asia. 32. Ig para mamorak ta masinlo.
koma =ang asia ig para mang =borak ta ma =sinlo
field =LKR D2 and in.order INF,AF =fruit GEN ADJ =nice

33. Asia tang agboaten tang mga taw ong paragloaken
asia tang ag--en =boat tang mga taw ong pag--Vr--en =loak
D2 TOP IMP,GF =make DEF PL person OBL NLR =plant

ta paray.
ta paray
GEN rice

31. People weed the rice plants well, in order for the fields to be clean.

32. And so that they will bear fruit well.

33. That's what people do in planting rice.

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Natetenged ong Pangayeg
About Harvesting

This is a companion text to the previous one on planting rice, also authored by Teofila Avancena in 1987. There is a mixture here of procedural, narrative and hortatory material. What begins as description ends as an exhortation to work hard in the harvest.

1. Ang yen ang masayod ay natetenged ong pangayeg. ang yen ang ma=sayod ay natetenged ong pangayeg TOP 1S.0 LKR INF,ABL,GF=explain INV about OBL harvest	1. What I'm going to explain is about harvesting.
2. Sigon ong pagloak ta paray, primiro kaman sigon ong pag=loak ta paray primiro kaman according OBL NLR=plant GEN rice first indeed	2. In planting the rice, first we do clear the land or chop down trees in the field.
manliri ita osia magpe-pet ita ta mga ayo mang=liri ita osia mag=pe-pet ita ta mga ayo INF,AF=clear.land 1PI.T or INF,AF=chop.down PI.T GEN PL tree	
ong bokid. 3. Tapos mga malango ra tang mga ayo, ong bokid tapos mga ma=langoro ra tang mga ayo OBL field then if ADJ=dry already TOP PL tree	3. Then when the trees are dried, they're burned.
sirokon. 4. Mga masirok da ngani ong bolan ta Mayo, sirok=on mga ma=sirok da ngani ong bolan ta Mayo burn=INF,GF if ADJ=burn already indeed OBL month GEN May	4. When the fields have burned in the month of May, then they are planted with rice. 5. Then when the rice has sprouted, it is weeded during the months of August and September.
loakan da ta paray. 5. Tapos mga malongay da loak=an da ta paray tapos mga ma=longay da plant=INF,RF already GEN rice then if ADJ=sprout already	
tang paray, ibabawan ong bolan ta Agosto asta tang paray ibabaw=an ong bolan ta Agosto asta DEF rice weeds=INF,RF OBL month GEN August including	
Septembre. 6. Mga mababael da obin kokoraw da, Septembre mga ma=CV=bael da obin CV=koraw da September if ADJ=PL=big already or IMP,AF=head already	6. When the rice has grown big or when it has headed, then you just wait for it to ripen.
elaten da lamang malotok. elat=en da lamang ma=lotok wait=INF,GF already only INF,STAT=ripe	

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7. Mga malotok da ngani tang borak ay ayegen
mga ma =lotok da ngani tang borak ay ayeg =en
if INF =ripe already indeed TOP fruit INV harvest =INF,GF

da. 8. Primirominti ang simpanen ay balen, tamping,
da primirominti ang simpan =en ay balen basket
already firstly TOP prepare =INF,GF INV basket basket

gamgaman, ta-bat, may salokot. 9. Tenged asia tang kaministiran
blade ta-bat may salokot tenged asia tang ka--an =ministir
blade knife and hat because D2 TOP NLR =need

mga mangayeg tang maski sinopang taw. 10. Piro
mga mang =ayeg tang maski sino =pa =ang taw piro
if INF,AF =harvest TOP whatever who =Q =LKR person but

ba-lo ita kang lagi mangayeg, impisan
ba-lo ita ka =ang lagi mang =ayeg impisa =an
before 1PI.T EXP =LKR immediately INF,AF =harvest begin =INF,GF

ta kang lagi ta ge-ley para ong yaten ang mga
ta ka =ang lagi ta ge-ley para ong yaten ang mga
1PI.G RESP =LKR immediately GEN small for OBL 1PI.0 LKR PL

ginikanan ang nagtokaw da ong yaten. 11. Tapos ba-lo
ginikanan ang nag =tokaw da ong yaten tapos ba-lo
parents LKR PERF,AF =first already OBL 1PI.0 then before

tang sigi-siging ayeg. 12. Piro sia ang patebat, may
tang sigi-siging ayeg piro asia ang pa =tebat may
TOP continuous harvest but D2 TOP CAUS =yield exist

agsoirtien may pirdision.
ag--en =soirti may pirdision
IMP,GF =luck exist bad.luck

13. Animan mandian mga logod ig mga ginikanan, mandian
animan mandian mga logod ig mga ginikanan mandian
therefore now PL sibling and PL parents now

timpo rang igparangoma. 14. Magprosigir
timpo ra =ang igVr =paang =koma mag =prosigir
time already =LKR NLR =AF =farm INF,AF =work.hard

itang mangoma, komo mandian ang problima ang
ita =ang mang =koma komo mandian ang problima ang
1PI.T =LKR INL,AF =farm because now TOP problem LKR

7. When the grain is ripe it is harvested.

8. The first thing you do is get together a harvesting basket, a large rice basket, a harvesting blade, a knife and a wide hat. 9. Because that's what anyone who is going to harvest needs. 10. But before we actually harvest, we first start it a little for our ancestors who have gone before us.

11. We do that before the harvest really proceeds.

12. But as for the yield, there are those that have good luck and those that have bad.

13. So now brothers and parents, now is working in the field time. 14. Let's work hard at farming, because now our big problem is our food.

mabael ay ang pamangan ta. 15. Mga anday anen ta,
ma =bael ay ang pamangan ta mga anda =ay anen ta
ADJ =big INV TOP food 1PI.G if NEG3 =INV food 1PI.G

15. If we don't have any food, we will starve.

matobok ita. 16. Anday teled tang sian ta,
ma =tobok ita anda =ay teled tang sian ta
INF,STAT =starve 1PI.T NEG3 =INV contents DEF stomach 1PI.G

16. There won't be anything in our stomachs, then we will also get sick.

tapos magmasit ita pa. 17. Dayon ita rang
tapos mag =masit ita pa dayon ita ra =ang
then INF,AF =sickness 1PI.T yet proceed 1PI.T already =LKR

17. And we will then die.

mapatay. 18. Ang domang mga ana ta
ma =patay ang doma =ang mga ana ta
INF,STAT =die TOP other =LKR PL child 1PI.G

18. Some of our children will become malnourished and others will become ill because we lack food.

mag-malnourish ig ang doma mamagmasit komo
mag =malnourished ig ang doma mamag =masit komo
INF,AF =malnourished and TOP other INF,PL,AF =sickness because

korang ta pamangan. 19. Ya ra lamang ay
korang ta pamangan ya ra lamang ay
lack GEN food PRO already only INV

19. That's all I have to tell about the harvest.

masayodo natetenged ong pangayeg.
ma =sayod =o natetenged ong pangayeg
INF,ABL,AF =tell =1S.T about OBL harvest

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Ang mga Lilien[1] natetenged ong Paray[2]
Beliefs about Rice

This text was also collected for me by Pedrito Labrador in 1989, from Rosita Llanzana, a woman in her early forties at the time. The text is included here for its cultural information on rice planting and harvesting. The speaker shows great respect for traditions handed down through the generations.

1. Kada pitsa tres tang bolan tang Mayo, yay ang yamen
kada pitsa tres tang bolan tang Mayo ya =ay ang yamen
each date three DEF month DEF May PRO =INV TOP 1PE.O

ang impisa tang pagtorogdaen ong banoang Agutayan.
ang impisa tang pag--Vr--en =togda ong banoa =ang Agutayan
LKR begin DEF NLR =plant.rice OBL town =LKR Agutaya

1. Every third of May,[3] that's when we begin planting rice here on Agutaya.

2. Ba-lo magimpisa tang taw ang magtogda, may
ba-lo mag =impisa tang taw ang mag =togda may
before INF,AF =begin TOP person LKR INF,AF =plant.rice exist

tatang taw ang nanobli ong mga kamepetan nga
'aata =ang taw ang nang =tobli ong mga ka--an =meepet nga
one =LKR person LKR PERF,AF =inherit OBL PL NLR =old LKR

2. Before people begin to plant, there is someone who has inherited from the ancestors the responsibility to begin the planting.[4]

tanandia tang magtokaw ang magtogda. 3. Yay ang
tanandia tang mag =tokaw ang mag =togda ya =ay ang
3S.F TOP INF,AF =first LKR INF,AF =plant.rice PRO =INV TOP

ganingen ong yamen 'telnak'. 4. Yay ang magtokaw
ag--en =aning ong yamen telnak ya =ay ang mag =tokaw
IMP,GF =say OBL 1PE.O t.ritual PRO =INV TOP INF,AF =precede

3. This is what we call 'telnak'.[5]

4. He is the one who begins the rice planting there in the middle of the

[1] The term here for belief, **lilien**, is often translated into English by Agutaynens as 'superstition'. The form may be derived from the Spanish word for 'law' **ley**, pronounced **li:** in Agutaynen. It then could mean a set of laws or customs to be followed. These are taught by the old people. Residents of Agutaya say there are many of these **lilien** affecting all walks of life. Some are rules to be followed, for example, "Always situate a dead body with the feet toward the door." Others are simply expected outcomes, "If you scrub the soot off a rice pot it will rain."

[2] In Agutaynen **paray** is unhusked rice, **belat** husked rice, and **anen** cooked rice.

[3] This is a family date handed down through the years. All the planting must be completed on this day. If any is not completed, the family of the owner may complete it on the following days without the help of any nonrelatives.

[4] The father, as head of the family, designates one or more of his offspring to be leaders in planting. These must be the ones to formally begin the planting every season. Others can do the majority of the work once it has been properly begun.

[5] **Telnak** is the ritual to begin rice planting.

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ang magtogda don ong ka-ngan tang koma para
ang mag =togda doon ong ka--an =tenga tang koma para
LKR INF,AF =plant.rice LOC3 OBL NLR =half DEF field in.order

boaten ang sinialis ong pagtorogdaen.
boat =en ang sinialis ong pag--Vr--en =togda
make =INF,GF TOP sign OBL NLR =plant.rice

field in order to make a sign for rice planting.[6]

5. Ang domang lilien ong pagtorogdaen
ang doma =ang liliien ong pag--Vr--en =togda
TOP other =LKR beliefs OBL NLR =plant.rice

5. Another belief about rice planting is that the (sack of) seeds carried from the house cannot be set down on the road.

kaministiran ang binik magalin ong balay indi
ka--an =ministir ang biinik mag =alin ong balay indi
NLR =need TOP seed INF,AF =leave OBL house NEG1

ibe-tak ong karsada. 6. Don lamang ibe-tak ong
i =be-tak ong karsada doon lamang i =be-tak ong
INF,GF =set.down OBL road LOC3 only INF,GF =set.down OBL

6. It should only be set down there in the middle of the field.

ka-ngan tang koma. 7. Ang binik ay samporan pa ta
ka--an =tenga tang koma ang biinik ay sampor =an pa ta
NLR =half DEF field TOP seed INV mix =INF,RF yet GEN

bonga, anloy may posporo agod ono ang paray mga mamorak
bonga anloy may posporo agod ono ang paray mga mang =borak
betelnut comb and match so.that RS TOP rice if INF,AF =fruit

talalabid ang maga bonga ig magang inanloy.
Vl =Vl =tabid ang maga bonga ig maga =ang in =anloy
PL =PL =accompany LKR like betelnut and like =LKR GF =comb

7. In with the rice seeds are mixed betelnut, a comb and matches so that when the rice bears fruit it will be in bunches like betelnut and look like it has been combed.

8. Ang domang mamepet, mga Domingo de Ramos
ang doma =ang ma =meepet mga Domingo de Ramos
TOP other =LKR ADJ =old if Sunday of palm.fronds

pamamisik tang agtata-bol tang mamola ang rosas
paamang =pisik tang agCV =ta-bol tang ma =mola ang rosas
IMP,PL,AF =pick.up DEF IMP,GF =toss DEF ADJ =young LKR flower

8. Some old people, on Palm Sunday pick up the flowers that are scattered by the children (in a procession around the square) to put them in with the rice seed or to scatter them in the field in order, so

[6] This sign consists of the sack of seed rice placed in the middle of the field and planted around. The small holes for planting are each filled with seed, but not covered over with dirt until the entire field has been planted.

para ibetang ong binik obin ita-bol ong koma agod
para i =betang ong biinik obin i =ta-bol ong koma agod
for INF,GF =put OBL seed or INF,GF =toss OBL field so.that

ono palawid tang mga pisti obin mga siba-la, ig agod
ono pa =alawid tang mga pisti obin mga siba-la ig agod
RS CAUS =far TOP PL disease or PL grasshopper and so.that

mamorak ta yadi.
mang =borak ta yadi
INF,AF =fruit GEN many

they say, to keep away disease or grasshoppers, and so that they will yield bountifully.

9. Ang doma pang lilien, ba-lo manogdan tang
ang doma pa =ang lilien ba-lo mang--an =togda tang
TOP other still =LKR beliefs before INF,GF =plant.rice DEF

tatang taw ong aroman nang manigkoma, ay
taata =ang taw ong aroman na =ang manig =koma ay
one =LKR person OBL companion 3S.G =LKR NLR =farm INV

tomogda kang lagi ong nandiang sadiling
om =togda ka =ang lagi ong nandia =ang sadili =ang
INF,AF =plant.rice EXP =LKR immediately OBL 3S.O =LKR self =LKR

koma, lomibot kang lagi ta ge-ley ong
koma om =libot ka =ang lagi ta ge-ley ong
farm INF,AF =go.around EXP =LKR immediately GEN small OBL

9. Another belief, is that before a person can help his fellow farmer plant, he first must plant a little rice in his own field, around a stump.

tokod. 10. Ang tokod ay ong ka-ngan tang koma piro papa ta
tokod ang tokod ay ong ka--an =tenga tang koma piro paapa ta
stump TOP stump INV OBL NLR =half DEF field but trunk GEN

ayo.
ayo
wood

10. The stump is in the middle of the field but it's a tree trunk.

11. Mandian ba-lo tang pagparangayegen, may tatang
mandian ba-lo tang pag--Vr--en =pangayeg may taata =ang
now before DEF NLR =harvest exist one =LKR

taw ang gatako ang mangadi ang paning ong koma
taw ang gaa =tako ang mang =adi ang paning ong koma
person LKR IMP,STAT =know LKR INF,AF =pray LKR go OBL field

11. Now, before the rice is harvested, there is somebody who knows how to pray who goes to the field to pray.[7]

[7] These prayers are taught by the elders and are addressed to the ancestors. Those who are designated to begin the planting have this responsiblity to pray for a good harvest.

ang mangadi. 12. Ang boaten na don ang
ang mang =adi ang boat =en na doon ang
LKR INF,AF =pray TOP make =INF,GF 3S.G LOC3 TOP

magimpisa ong pagparangayegen. 13. Tanandia ay
mag =impisa ong pag--Vr--en =pangayeg tanandia ay
INF,AF =begin OBL NLR =harvest 3S.F INV

lomantok ta pitong koay ig magbilang ka ta
om =lantok ta pito =ang koay ig mag =bilang ka ta
INF,AF =break.off GEN seven =LKR stalk and INF,AF =count EXP GEN

pitong teka. 14. Pagkatapos ay be-keten. 15. Asia
pito =ang teka pagka =tapos ay beket =en asia
seven =LKR grains after =finish INV bundle =INF,GF D2

ipatako ong mga taw ang asia ay indi
i =paa =tako ong mga taw ang asia ay indi
INF,GF =CAUS =know OBL PL person LKR D2 INV NEG1

ayegen. 16. Piro ayegen ka ang igapil
ayeg =en piro ayeg =en ka ang i =gapil
harvest =INF,GF but harvest =INF,GF EXP LKR INF,GF =include

ong binik para binik si ong moman ang takon. 17. Ang may
ong biinik para biinik sii ong moman ang takon ang may
OBL seed in.order seed again OBL next LKR year TOP exist

koma indi magpaning don mga ba-long impisa.
koma indi mag =paning doon mga ba-lo =ang impisa
field NEG1 INF,AF =go LOC3 if before =LKR begin

18. Bilangan kang lagi ta tolong kaldaw.
bilang =an ka =ang lagi ta tolo =ang kaldaw
count =INF,RF EXP =LKR immediately GEN three =LKR day

19. Ganing ka tang pagimpisa, "Ba-lo amo kang
ga =aning ka tang pag =impisa ba-lo amo ka =ang
IMP,AF =say EXP TOP IMP,AF =begin before 2P.T EXP =LKR

lagi paning don asta indi mata-lib tang tolong
lagi paning doon asta indi maa =ta-lib tang tolo =ang
immediately go LOC3 until NEG1 INF,AF =pass.by TOP three =LKR

kaldaw. 20. Paglampas tang tolong kaldaw, ong yapat
kaldaw pag =lampas tang tolo =ang kaldaw ong ya =epat
day when =past DEF three =LKR day OBL ORD =four

12. What he does there is to begin the harvesting.

13. He breaks off seven stalks of rice and also counts seven grains of rice.

14. Then he ties these in a bundle. 15. That is to let people know that those (stalks) are not to be harvested.

16. But they are harvested (later) to include in the seeds which will be planted again the following year. 17. The owner of the field does not go there when (the harvest) is just starting.

18. First he counts three days.

19. The one who starts the harvest says, "Don't you go there until three days have passed.

20. After three days have passed, on the fourth day you can then harvest."

ang kaldaw ay poidi amo ra ang mangayeg." 21. Di, atan
ang kaldaw ay poidi amo ra ang mang =ayeg di atan
LKR day INV can 2P.T already LKR INF,AF =harvest INTJ LOC2

21. And so the people go there to harvest, no matter how many, just as long as it has started, they will just harvest.

da tang mga taw ang mangayeg, maski pirapa
da tang mga taw ang mang =ayeg maski pira =pa
already TOP PL person LKR INF,AF =harvest whatever how.much =Q

tanira, basta naimpisan da, ayeg da lamang
tanira basta na--an =impisa da ayeg da lamang
3P.F as.long.as PERF,ABL,GF =begin already harvest already only

tanira.
tanira
3P.F

22. Mandian don ong pagparangayegen, ang
mandian doon ong pag--VR--en =pangayeg ang
now LOC3 OBL NLR = harvest TOP

22. Now in harvesting, the one who harvested first dries what he has harvested in the sun and cooks it.

na-kaw ang mangayeg ay magpakaldaw
na =tokaw ang mang =ayeg ay mag =pa =kaldaw
PERF,STAT =first LKR INF,AF =harvest INV INF,AF =CAUS =sun

da tang inayeg na ig dongkolon. 23. Mandian
da tang in =ayeg na ig dongkol =on mandian
already TOP PERF,GF =harvest 3S.G and cook.rice =INF,GF now

23. Now when he has cooked the rice, he will put viand, water and coconut wine (with it), and put it in a place (somewhere in the house) where it won't be found by other people.

madongkol na, magbetang ta tera, wi, teba,
ma =dongkol na mag =betang ta tera wii teba
after =cook.rice 3S.G INF,AF =put GEN viand water coconut.wine

ig magbetang si don ong poisto ang indi itaen
ig mag =betang sii doon ong poisto ang indi ita =en
and INF,AF =put again LOC3 OBL position LKR NEG1 see =INF,GF

ta domang taw. 24. Don mangadi tang tatang mepet
ta doma =ang taw doon mang =king tang taata =ang meepet
GEN other =LKR person LOC3 INF,AF =pray TOP one =LKR old

24. An old person prays there to the souls of those who have gone ahead and to the Almighty saying, "You have given us this never-ending blessing.

ipatenged ong mga kalag ang namagtokaw may ong
i =pa =tenged ong mga kalag ang namag =tokaw may ong
INF,GF =DIR =about OBL PL soul LKR PERF,PL,AF =first and OBL

Makagagaem nga, "Yami sindolan mo tang grasiang
makaCV =gaem nga yami in--an =torol mo tang grasia =ang
ADJ =power LKR 1PE.F PERF,RF =give 2S.G TOP blessing =LKR

narin ang anday kataposan. 25. Mga abir, balampa ra
narin ang anda =ay ka--an =tapos mga abir balampa ra
D1 LKR NEG3 =INV NLR =finish if let's.see DESID already

lamang ong mga oring timpo ang itaen amen ang grasia
lamang ong mga ori =ang timpo ang ita =en amen ang grasia
only OBL PL late =LKR time TOP see =INF,GF 1PE.G LKR blessing

ang somobra pa ka enged ong grasiang narin mandian
ang om =sobra pa ka enged ong grasia =ang narin mandian
LKR INF,AF =extra yet EXP INTENS OBL grace =LKR D1 now

ang pinakabot mo." 26. Ang bintang ang asia
ang pa =in =kabot mo ang in =betang ang asia
LKR CAUS =PERF,GF =reach 2S.G TOP PERF,GF =put LKR D2

mga mapangadian da, ang mangadi maganing ang
mga ma--an =pangadi da ang mang =adi mag =aning ang
when after.RF =pray already TOP INF,AF =pray INF,AF =say LKR

poidi rang bongoton ang ilbeng ong
poidi ra =ang bongot =on ang i =lebeng ong
can already =LKR wrap =INF,GF LKR INF,GF =bury OBL

sirong. 27. Ig ang mga taw ong teled tang pamilia ay poidi
sirong ig ang mga taw ong teled tang pamilia ay poidi
underneath and TOP PL person OBL inside DEF family INV can

ra kang mamangan. 28. Tenged ang asing
ra ka =ang mang =pangan tenged ang asii =ang
already EXP =LKR INF,AF =eat because TOP D3 =LKR

namagtokaw ang mga kamepetan ay
namag =tokaw ang mga ka--an =meepet ay
PERF,PL,AF =first LKR PL NLR =old INV

napagpakinabang da ka tang para ong nira.
napag =pakinabang da ka tang para ong nira
PERF,ABL,AF =make.use.of already EXP DEF for OBL 3P.O

29. Animan, yami ang gaboi ong ta-paw tang
animan yami ang gaa =boi ong ta-paw tang
therefore 1PE.F LKR IMP,AF =alive OBL surface DEF

kalibotan ay ba-lo ami pamamangan, ang
ka--an =libot ay ba-lo ami paamang =pangan ang
NLR =go.around INV then 1PE.T IMP,PL,AF =eat TOP

25. We hope that in the future we will see blessings which exceed even the blessings which you have extended (to us) now."

26. When the food that has been offered has been prayed over, the one who prays will then say that it can be wrapped up and buried underneath the house.

27. And those in the family can then go ahead and eat also.

28. Because those ancestors who have gone on ahead have already benefited from that which was for them.

29. So, as for those of us who are still living here on the face of the earth, before we eat, the first one to take some rice is the

tongkaw ang mangomit tang anen ay ang kamepetan
om =tokaw ang mang =komit tang anen ay ang ka--an =meepet
INF,AF =first LKR INF,AF =get DEF rice INV TOP NLR =old

ong balay.
ong balay
OBL house

oldest person in the household.

30. Asia yay ang tong yamen ang mga pinanoblian
asia ya =ay ang tong yamen ang mga pinang--an =tobli
D2 PRO =INV TOP OBL 1PE.O LKR PL PERF,PL,RF =inherit

ong yamen ang mga kamepetan.
ong yamen ang mga ka--an =meepet
OBL 1PE.O LKR PL NLR =old

30. That is what we have inherited from our ancestors.

31. Animan yami ay indi
animan yami ay indi
therefore 1PE.F INV NEG1

ami mapagkontra ong mamepet ang namagtokaw.
ami mapag =kontra ong ADJ =meepet ang namag =tokaw
1PE.T INF,ABL,AF =oppose OBL ADJ =old LKR PERF,PL,AF =first

31. So we cannot go against the old ones who have gone on ahead.

32. Mga indi ami manabi-tabi ong mga
mga indi ami mang =tabi =REDUP ong mga
if NEG1 1PE.T INF,AF =respect =DIMIN OBL PL

namagtokaw ay indi ami ka matako ang
namag =tokaw ay indi ami ka ma =tako ang
PERF,PL,AF =first INV NEG1 1PE.T EXP INF,STAT =know LKR

32. If we didn't show respect to those who have gone ahead we just don't know what might happen.

onopa matabo.
ono =pa ma =tabo
what =Q INF,STAT =happen

33. Animan yami pagtoman
animan yami pag =toman
therefore 1PE.F IMP,AF =obey

33. So we just obey.

da ka lamang.
da ka lamang
already EXP only

34. Maski yami indi ami
maski yami indi ami
even.though 1PE.F NEG1 1PE.T

matako, basta may tatang matako ay
maa =tako basta may taata =ang maa =tako ay
INF,ABL,AF =know as.long.as exist one =LKR INF,ABL,AF =know INV

34. Even if we ourselves don't know what to do, as long as there is one who does, we can ask if he (she) can help us.

pangarabaen amen ang poiding tabangan ami nira.
pang--en =araba amen ang poidi =ang tabang =an ami nira
INF,GF =request 1PE.G LKR can =LKR help =INF,RF 1PE.T 3P.O

35. Asia yay ang istoria ong pagtorogdaen,
asia ya =ay ang istoria ong pag--Vr--en =togda
D2 PRO =INV TOP story OBL NLR = plant.rice

35. That then is the story of planting rice, harvesting,

pagparangayegen,		may	ong	pagberetangen		ong	pamangan.	and offering the food.
pag--Vr--en	=pangayeg	may	ong	pag--Vr--en	=betang	ong	pang =pangan	
NLR =	harvest	and	OBL	NLR =	put	OBL	INST =eat	

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Ang Pagpana
Birthing

This text was recorded on audiotape for the researcher by Pedrito Labrador in 1989. The speaker was Adelina Caab, a midwife in her late forties at the time. It is included here primarily for its wealth of cultural information, and secondarily as an example of an expository text.

1. Nani ra tang yamen ang boroaten bilang maninigano.[1] nani ra tang yamen ang -Vr--en =boat bilang maninigano D1 already TOP 1PE.O LKR NLR =do as midwife	1. Here is what we do as midwives.
2. Ang yamen ang obligasion ay ang ganingen ang yamen ang obligasion ay ang ag--en =aning TOP 1PE.O LKR responsibility INV TOP IMP,GF =say	2. Our responsibility is what is called helping patients deliver.
pagpana ong mga pasinti. 3. Primiro, yami pagibitar pag =pa =ana ong mga pasinti primiro yami pag =ibitar NLR =CAUS =child OBL PL patient first 1PE.F IMP,AF =avoid	3. First of all, we prevent illness for the mother and child.
tang mga masit ong nanay may ong mola. 4. Pagtorol ami tang mga ma =sii ong nanay may ong mola pag =torol ami DEF PL ADJ =pain OBL mother and OBL child IMP,AF =give 1PE.T	4. We provide good service in the delivery of the mother and child.
ta masinlong sirbisio ong pagpalana tang nanay ta ma =sinlo =ang sirbisio ong pag--Vl- =pa =ana tang nanay GEN ADJ =nice =LKR service OBL NLR =CAUS =child DEF mother	
ig mola. 5. Agtoldan ta importansia ig sirbisio tang nanay ig mola ag--an =torol ta importansia ig sirbisio tang nanay and child IMP,RF =give GEN importance and service TOP mother	5. The mother and child are given priority and care in order to avoid illness.
ig ang mola para maibitaran tang masit. ig ang mola para ma--an =ibitar tang ma =siit and TOP child in.order INF,ABL,RF =avoid TOP ADJ =pain	
6. Mandian mga don ami ra ong yamen ang pasinti, ang mandian mga doon ami ra ong yamen ang pasinti ang now if LOC3 1PE.T already OBL 1PE.O LKR patient TOP	6. Now when we are there with our patient, the first thing we do is clean our hands before delivering her.

[1] These are locally trained midwives, who are often preferred over those trained in nursing schools due to their lower fees and the fact that they observe more of the local cultural traditions.

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primirong boaten amen ay maglimpio tang kalima
primiro =ang boat =en amen ay mag =limpio tang kalima
first =LKR do =INF,GF 1PE.G INV INF,AF =clean DEF hand

ba-lo magpana. 7. Ig mga lomboa ra ngani
ba-lo mag =pa =ana ig mga om =loa ra ngani
before INF,AF =CAUS =child and if INF,AF =out already indeed

tang mola, asikason amen ka sia. 8. Magogat tang
tang mola asikaso =on amen ka asia mag =ogat tang
TOP child take.care.of =INF,GF 1PE.G also D2 INF,AF =wash DEF

kalimang maboling ig ang gamit ang maboling.
kalima =ang ma =boling ig ang gamit ang ma =boling
hand =LKR ADJ =dirt and TOP equipment LKR ADJ =dirt

9. Magpakinit ta wi ig magsabon tang kalima,
mag =pa =kinit ta wii ig mag =sabon tang kalima
INF,AF =CAUS =hot GEN water and INF,AF =soap DEF hand

komiten tang mga sising, magdipot tang mga koko, ig
komit =en tang mga sising mag =diipot tang mga koko ig
remove =INF,GF TOP PL ring INF,AF =short DEF PL nails and

magsimpan tang garamiten tang mangana, pario tang
mag =simpan tang -Vr--en =gamit tang mang =ana pario tang
INF,AF =prepare DEF NLR =use DEF INF,AF =child like TOP

lampin, be-ket ta potod, mga lambong tang mola, ig ang tanan ang
lampin be-ket ta potod mga lambong tang mola ig ang tanan ang
diaper tie GEN navel PL clothes DEF child and TOP all LKR

garamiten don ong pagpana.
-Vr--en =gamit doon ong pag =pa =ana
NLR = use LOC3 OBL NLR =CAUS =child

10. Tapos, mga ang pangana materet da tang sit
tapos mga ang paang =ana ma =teret da tang siit
then if TOP IMP,AF =child ADJ =extreme already TOP pain

tang sian na ig lomboa ra tang kolo tang mola,
tang sian na ig om =loa ra tang kolo tang mola
DEF stomach 3S.G and INF,AF =out already TOP head DEF child

bantayan da sia ta mo-ya para
bantay =an da asia ta ma =o-ya para
guard =INF,RF already D2 GEN ADJ =good in.order

7. And when the child has come out, we also take care of it.
8. We wash dirty hands and equipment.

9. We heat water and wash our hands with soap, take off our rings, trim our fingernails and prepare the things the one giving birth will use, like diapers, the string to tie the cord with, the baby's clothes, and everything used in delivering.

10. Then when the labor pains are extreme and the head of the baby is about to come out, we watch it carefully so that it is supported as it comes out so that it won't take in any fluids, and so the child won't have

masoportaran tang pagroloaen na para indi
ma--an =soportar tang pag--Vr--en =loa na para indi
INF,ABL,RF =support TOP NLR = out 3S.G in.order NEG1

mainem ta mga ininem, ig indi
maa =inem ta mga in =inem ig indi
INF,ABL,AF =drink GEN PL PERF,GF =drink and NEG1

magsakripisio tang mola, ig para indi masigbak.
mag =sakripisio tang mola ig para indi ma =sigbak
INF,AF =suffer TOP child and in.order NEG1 INF,ABL,GF =injure

difficulty, and so that it won't get injured.

11. Mapangana ra ngani, ong pagporotolon ta
ma =paang =ana ra ngani ong pag--Vr--on =potol ta
after =AF =child already indeed OBL NLR = cut.off GEN

potod, teran ta mga ono polgada may tenga, tapos
potod tera =an ta mga ono polgada may tenga tapos
navel leave.extra =INF,RF GEN about one inch and half then

11. After the delivery, in cutting the cord, (we) leave an inch and a half, then dress the child.

palambongan tang mola. 12. Ang nanay asikason,
pa =lambong =an tang mola ang nanay asikaso =on
CAUS =clothes =INF,RF TOP child TOP mother care.for =INF,GF

paimaran, pa-letan tang mga gamit nang
pa =imara =an pa-let =an tang mga gamit na =ang
CAUS =dress =INF,RF change =INF,RF TOP PL things 3S.G =LKR

12. (Then we) take care of the mother, dress her, change her things that got bled on and get the two of them situated.

nadogoan ig agpasintar tanirang doroa.
na--an =dogo ig ag =paa =sintar tanira =ang doroa
PERF,ABL,RF =blood and IMP,GF =CAUS =situate 3P.F =LKR two

13. Tapos ang inenlan ay ilbeng ong sirong tang
tapos ang inenlan ay i =lebeng ong sirong tang
then TOP placenta INV INF,GF =bury OBL underneath DEF

13. Then the placenta is buried underneath the house close to one of the posts.

balay alenget ong adili. 14. May lilien[2] na ganing mga ang
balay alenget ong adili may lilien na ga =aning mga ang
house close OBL post exist belief LKR IMP,AF =say if TOP

14. There's a belief that says if pencil and paper are buried along with the placenta, the

inenlan ay tabidan ta lapis may papel ong
inenlan ay tabid =an ta lapis may papel ong
placenta INV accompany =INF,RF GEN pencil and paper OBL

[2] See footnote 1 on p. 65 for a discussion of the term **lilien**.

paglebeng, ang mola ay lomboang "brait".
pag =lebeng ang mola ay om =loa =ang brait
NLR =bury TOP child INV INF,AF =out =LKR bright

child will turn out smart.[3]

15. Tapos, agbisitaen amen pa ka. 16. Mga tambolan
tapos ag--en =bisita amen pa ka mga tang =bolan
after IMP,GF =visit 1PE.G still EXP if one =month

maminta, madoa obin ma-lo. 17. Asi,
ma,STAT =minta ma =doroa obin ma =tolo asii
INF =once INF,STAT =two or INF,STAT =three D3

agbisitaen amen natetenged taben magdogo-dogo.
ag--en =bisita amen natetenged taben mag =dogo =REDUP
IMP,GF =visit 1PE.G because perhaps INF,AF =blood =DIMIN

15. After that, we still visit (the mother and baby). 16. Within a month, one, two or three times.[4] 17. That is, we visit her because perhaps she might bleed a bit.

18. Asia, agbilangan ta siam ang kaldaw ba-lo digon
asia ag--an =bilang ta siam ang kaldaw ba-lo digo =on
D2 IMP,RF =count GEN nine LKR day before bathe =INF,GF

tang nanay may ang mola. 19. Ong paragpandigon, asia
tang nanay may ang mola ong pag--VR--on =pang =digo asia
TOP mother and TOP child OBL NLR =INST =bathe D2

may agpatayen ang mano, tapos dorong ineman ig
may ag--en =patay ang mano tapos doro =ang inem =an ig
exist IMP,GF =die LKR chicken then many =LKR drink =INF,RF and

doro ka siang taw ang agpaning. 20. Ang doma ngani,
doro ka asia =ang taw ang ag =paning ang doma ngani
many also D2 =LKR person LKR IMP,AF =go TOP other indeed

belag lamang ta mano, doma baboy. 21. Ya ka tang lilien amen
belag lamang ta mano doma baboy ya ka tang liliien amen
NEG2 only GEN chicken other pig PRO EXP TOP beliefs 1PE.G

18. From the time of delivery, nine days are counted before the mother and baby are bathed.[5] 19. With regard to the bathing, (on) that (occasion) a chicken is killed, then there is lots of drinking and lots of people who come. 20. Some people don't just kill a chicken, some kill a pig. 21. That is our custom here on Agutaya.

[3] The placenta should be buried near a corner post or in front of the stairs. If it is the woman's first child the midwife may broil a piece of it and feed it to the mother in order to prevent "relapse", or other complications from the delivery. A newspaper or small prayer book can also be buried in order to ensure that the child will be a good reader.

[4] The mother's stomach is massaged every day until she takes a bath nine days after giving birth. It is massaged again after a month.

[5] It is not known why the number of days is nine. This is also the number of nights a wake is held, which corresponds to the Roman Catholic novena prayers.

tarin ong Agutayan. 22. Ang didigo ong nangana, asia
tarin ong Agutayan ang CV =digo ong nang =ana asia
LOC1 OBL Agutaya TOP IMP,GF =bathe OBL PERF,AF =child D2

aglagaen ta mga daon ta tanglad, lagondi, may
ag--en =laga ta mga daon ta tanglad lagondi may
IMP,GF =boil GEN PL leaf GEN lemon.grass chaste.tree and

siang domang "herbal plants". 23. Ang mga daon ang
asia =ang doma =ang herbal plants ang mga daon ang
D2 =LKR other =LKR herbal plants TOP PL leaf LKR

agdidigo ong nangana ang goy ay pamegat agod
agCV =digo ong nang =ana ang goy ay pang =begat agod
IMP,GF =bathe OBL PERF,AF =child TOP call INV INST =relapse so.that

indi begatan. 24. Tarin da lamang tegka tang yen ang
indi begat =an tarin da lamang tegka tang yen ang
NEG1 relapse =INF,GF LOC1 already only until TOP 1S.O LKR

masayod.
ma =sayod
INF,ABL,GF =tell

22. As for what is used for bathing the one who gave birth, it is boiled with leaves of lemon grass, the five-leaved chaste tree, and those other herbal plants.
23. The leaves used for bathing the one who gave birth, they are called 'for relapse' so that she won't have a relapse.
24. That's all I have to tell.

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Angay Pagpareto na ang Kalag ay Pagbalik
Why I Believe that Souls Return

This text was narrated and later edited in 1991 by Marilyn Acosta. It was elicited by SIL researcher Gail Hendrickson. The text is a high interest, personal narrative involving supernatural experiences. A fair amount of conversational material is embedded in the narrative.

1. Nontokaw, indio gatako na si Nay Coroy
nontokaw indi =o gaa =tako na si Nay Coroy
formerly NEG1 =1S.T IMP,STAT =know COMP PM.T Mom Coroy

Aban ay agpaningan ta kalag. 2. Mandian asing Abril 1987
Aban ay ag--an =paning ta kalag mandian asii =ang Abril 1987
Aban INV IMP,RF =go GEN soul now D3 =LKR April 1987

ang tatayo ay napatay. 3. Ig yo may ang ana
ang tatay =o ay na =patay ig yo may ang ana
TOP father =1S.G INV PERF,STAT =die and 1S.F and TOP child

ni Nay Coroy ay pagobra ong tanga opisinan ong
ni Nay Coroy ay pag =obra ong tanga--an opisina ong
PM.G Mom Coroy INV IMP,AF =work OBL one.unit office OBL

GAMNHS. 4. Nagistoria ong yen tang ana na ganing,
GAMNHS nag =istoria ong yen tang ana na ga =aning
GAMNHS PERF,AF =story OBL 1S.O TOP child 3S.G IMP,AF =say

"Si tatay mo ay papaning ong balay pagigampang
si tatay mo ay CV =paning ong balay pagi =ampang
PM.T father 2S.G INV IMP,AF =go OBL house IMP,SOC =converse

ong ni Nanay." 5. Ganingo, "Monopa tanandia
ong ni nanay ga =aning =o mono =pa tanandia
OBL PM.G mother IMP,AF =say =1S.T how =Q 3S.F

mapaning atan ong nindio komo tanandia ay patay da?"
ma =paning atan ong nindio komo tanandia ay patay da
INF,ABL,AF =go LOC2 OBL 2P.O since 3S.F INV die already

6. Ganing tang ana ni Nay Coroy, "Si nanay ay
ga =aning tang ana ni Nay Coroy si nanay ay
IMP,AF =say TOP child PM.G Mom Coroy PM.T mother INV

1. In the past, I didn't know that Auntie Coroy Aban was visited by the souls of the departed. 2. Now last April 1987 my father died.

3. And Auntie Coroy's daughter and I were working in the same office at the high school.

4. Her daughter told me, "Your father comes to our house and talks with Mother."

5. I said, "How can he be going to your house when he's already dead?"

6. Auntie Coroy's daughter said, "Mother prays the 'del Carmen' prayer and the souls come to her if they still

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pangadi ta 'del Carmen' ig ang mga kalag ay
paang =adi ta del Carmen ig ang mga kalag ay
IMP,AF =pray GEN del Carmen and TOP PL soul INV

papaning ong nandia mga indi gapanoyon-toyon
CV =paning ong nandia mga indi gaapang =toyon =REDUP
IMP,AF =go OBL 3S.O if NEG1 IMP,ABL,AF =instruct =DIMIN

obin may dapat ang yaning na ang importanti."
obin may dapat ang i =aning na ang importanti
or exist should LKR INF,GF =say 3S.G LKR important

have instructions for the family or something important to tell them."

7. Ganingo, "Talagang matod?" 8. Ganing ong
ga =aning =o talaga =ang ma =tood ga =aning ong
IMP,AF =say =1S.T really =LKR ADJ =true IMP,AF =say OBL

yen, "Ee, maski mandian ang lagi tomabida
yen ee maski mandian ang lagi om =tabid =a
1S.O yes even now LKR immediately INF,AF =accompany =2S.T

ong yen ig te-maen mo si Nanay mga matod ang
ong yen ig te-ma =en mo si nanay mga ma =tood ang
OBL 1S.O and question =INF,GF 2S.G PM.T mother if ADJ =true LKR

si tatay mo ay papaning ong balay."
si tatay mo ay CV =paning ong balay
PM.T father 2S.G INV IMP,AF =go OBL house

7. I said, "Is that really true?" 8. She said to me, "Yes, come along with me right now and ask Mother if it's true that your father comes to the house."

9. Mandian siminabido ra ong balay nira ig
mandian imin =tabid =o ra ong balay nira ig
now PERF,AF =accompany =1S.T already OBL house 3P.G and

nagpabalitao mga matod. 10. Ganingo
nag =pa =balita =o mga ma =tood ga =aning =o
PERF,AF =CAUS =news =1S.T if ADJ =true IMP,AF =say =1S.T

"Nay Coroy, onopa? Matod na si Tatay ay
Nay Coroy ono =pa ma =tod na si tatay ay
Mom Coroy what =Q ADJ =true COMP PM.T father INV

9. Now I went along to their house and asked if this was true.
10. I said "Auntie Coroy, tell me. Is it true that Father comes here to your house?"

papaning tarin ong balay mi?" 11. Ganing, "Ee,
CV =paning tarin ong balay mi ga =aning ee
IMP,AF =go LOC1 OBL house 2P.G IMP,AF =say yes

matod. 12. Si tatay mo ay napaning talabi tarin.
ma =tood si tatay mo ay na =paning talabii tarin
ADJ =true PM.T father 2S.G INV PERF,AF =go last.night LOC1

11. She said, "Yes, it's true.

12. Your father came here last night.

13. Ig ganing tanandia, 'Aningen mo tang mga
ig ga =aning tanandia aning =en mo tang mga
and IMP,AF =say 3S.F say =INF,GF 2S.G TOP PL

anao na pamisano nira.'" 14. Mandian ong
ana =o na pa =misa =an =o nira mandian ong
child =1S.G COMP CAUS =mass =INF,RF =1S.T 3P.O now OBL

isipo midio imposibli ig ganingo ong
isip =o midio imposibli ig ga =aning =o ong
think =1S.G seem impossible and IMP,AF =say =1S.T OBL

sadilio, "Onopa bato? Talagang matod? 15. Piro, angay
sadili =o ono =pa bato talaga =ang ma =tood piro angay
self =1S.G what =Q suppose really =LKR ADJ =true but why

gata-wanan ni Nay Coroy? 16. Ah, sigoro matod ka
ga--an =tako ni Nay Coroy ah sigoro ma =tood ka
IMP,ABL,RF =know PM.G Mom Coroy ah maybe ADJ =true EXP

kaman."
kaman
indeed

17. Minoliko ra ong balay.
olik =min =o ra ong balay
go.home =PERF,AF =1S.T already OBL house

18. Pagkaboto ganingo ong ni Nanay,
pag =kabot =o ga =aning =o ong ni nanay
when =arrive =1S.G IMP,AF =say =1S.T OBL PM.G mother

"Napaningo ong balay da Nay Coroy ig
na =paning =o ong balay da Nay Coroy ig
PERF,AF =go =1S.T OBL house PM,PL.G Mom Coroy and

ganing ong yen, 'Si tatay mo pama-dol ta
ga =aning ong yen si tatay mo paang =pa-dol ta
IMP,AF =say OBL 1S.O PM.T father 2S.G IMP,AF =ask.for GEN

pamisa.'" 19. Sabat ni Nanay, "Ong damal ang apon
pa =misa sabat ni nanay ong damal ang apon
CAUS =mass answer PM.G mother OBL tomorrow LKR afternoon

paning amo ong simintirio agod mamisita amo." 20. Ang
paning amo ong simintirio agod mang =bisita amo ang
go 2P.T OBL cemetery so.that INF,AF =visit 2P.T TOP

13. And he said, 'Tell my children to have a mass said for me.'"
14. Now I thought this seemed impossible and I said to myself, "What do you suppose? Could this really be true?

15. But, why does Auntie Coroy know this?

16. Ah, maybe it really is true."

17. I went on home.

18. When I arrived home, I said to Mother, "I went to Auntie Coroy's house and she said to me, 'Your father is asking for a mass to be said (for him).'"

19. Mother answered, "Tomorrow afternoon, go to the cemetery to visit (the grave)."
20. My older and younger sisters

aromano ang napaning ong simintirio ay ang
aroman =o ang na =paning ong simintirio ay ang
companion =1S.G LKR PERF,AF =go OBL cemetery INV TOP

went with me to the cemetery.

manango may ang ario. 21. Ganing ami
manang =o may ang ari =o ga =aning ami
older.sister =1S.G and TOP younger =1S.G IMP,AF =say 1PE.T

21. There at Father's grave we said, "Father, if you can hear us, this afternoon at six o'clock let's meet and talk at Auntie Coroy's house."

don ong lebengan ni Tatay, "Tatay, mga yawa ay
doon ong lebeng =an ni tatay tatay mga yawa ay
LOC3 OBL bury =LOC PM.G father father if 2S.F INV

gabasi, mandian ang alas sais ang apon don ita
gaa =basi mandian ang alas sais ang apon doon ita
IMP,ABL,AF =hear now LKR o'clock six LKR afternoon LOC3 1PI.T

mamagbagatan ig magampang ong balay da Nay
mamag--an =bagat ig mag =ampang ong balay da Nay
INF,PL,RECIP =meet and INF,AF =converse OBL house PM,PL.G Mom

Coroy."
Coroy
Coroy

22. Pagolik amen ong balay aporado ami ra ang
pag =olik amen ong balay aporado ami ra ang
when =go.home 1PE.G OBL house hurry 1PE.T already LKR

22. When we got home, we were in a hurry to get to Cambian because it was nearly six o'clock.

paning ong Cambian tenged magalas sais da.
paning ong Cambian tenged mag =alas sais da
go OBL Cambian because INF,AF =o'clock six already

23. Tamang-tama atan ami ong plasa si Nay Coroy
tama =ang =REDUP atan ami ong plasa si Nay Coroy
correct =LKR =INTENS LOC2 1PE.T OBL plaza PM.T Mom Coroy

23. Just as we passed the plaza, there was Auntie Coroy hurrying home also. 24. She said to us, "Your father has already given a sign. 25. He's already there waiting for us.

aporado ra ka ang golik. 24. Ganing ong
aporado ra ka ang go =olik ga =aning ong
hurry already EXP LKR IMP,AF =go.home IMP,AF =say OBL

yamen, "Nagpasinial da si tatay mi. 25. Asi
yamen nag =pa =sinial da si tatay mi asii
1PE.O PERF,AF =CAUS =sign already PM.T father 2P.G D3

ra ang pagelat ong yaten. 26. Animan dalien ta
ra ang pag =elat ong yaten animan dali =en ta
already LKR IMP,AF =wait OBL 1PI.O therefore hurry =INF,GF 1PI.G

26. So let's hurry it up."

tang panaw." 27. Pagkabot amen ong balay nira,
tang panaw pag =kabot amen ong balay nira
TOP walk when =arrive 1PE.G OBL house 3P.G

siminaboan si Nay Coroy ganing ong yamen, "Nani
imin =taboan si Nay Coroy ga =aning ong yamen nani
PERF,AF =go.down PM.T Mom Coroy IMP,AF =say OBL 1PE.O D1

ra si tatay mo." 28. Ganingo ang minitala,
ra si tatay mo ga =aning =o ang min =bitala
already PM.T father 2S.G IMP,AF =say =1S.T LKR PERF,AF =say

"Tatay, mga yawa pamasi te-leken mo tang kakay amen."
tatay mga yawa paang =basi te-lek =en mo tang kakay amen
father if 2S.F IMP,AF =hear touch =INF,GF 2S.G TOP foot 1PE.G

29. Aroy! 30. Pagtapos lamang tang bitalao, sine-lek
aroy pag =tapos lamang tang bitala =o in =te-lek
INTJ when =finish only DEF say =1S.G PERF,GF =touch

ami ra ang talele-ta. 31. Aroy! 32. Masigiwikay ami ig
ami ra ang talele-ta aroy masig--ay =iwik ami ig
1PE.T already LKR each.one INTJ INF,AF,SIM =squeal 1PE.T and

namondo ami ra ong kalarongan.
nang =bondo ami ra ong Vr =karong =an
PERF,AF =stand.on 1PE.T already OBL PL =sit =LOC

33. Ganingo si, "Mga talagang matod ang yawa
ga =aning =o sii mga talaga =ang ma =tood ang yawa
IMP,AF =say =1S.T again if really =LKR ADJ =true LKR 2S.F

atan banggilay ami ta batakal." 34. Aroy! 35. Otro
atan banggil =ay ami ta batakal aroy otro
LOC2 throw =REQ 1PE.T GEN pebbles INTJ again

binanggil ami si. 36. Ganingo "Talagang
in =banggil ami sii ga =aning =o talaga =ang
PERF,GF =throw 1PE.T again IMP,AF =say =1S.T really =LKR

matod kaman."
ma =tood kaman
ADJ =true indeed

37. Oman siminaboan si Nay Coroy nagampang
oman imin =taboan si Nay Coroy nag =ampang
then PERF,AF =go.down PM.T Mom Coroy PERF,AF =converse

27. When we arrived at the house, Auntie Coroy came down (out of the house) and said to us, "Your father is already here."

28. I spoke saying, "Father, if you are listening, touch our feet."

29. Oh my! 30. As soon as I finished speaking, each one of us were touched. 31. Oh my! 32. We each squealed and stood up on the benches.

33. I said again, "If it's really true that you are there, throw some pebbles at us." 34. Oh my! 35. This time (lit. once again) we had stones thrown at us. 36. I said, "It really is true indeed."

37. Then Auntie Coroy went down again and she and Father talked.

tanira ni Tatay. 38. Ganing ono si Tatay, "Ang mga
tanira ni tatay ga =aning ono si tatay ang mga
3P.F PM.G father IMP,AF =say RS PM.T father TOP PL

anao galiliagano ang makampang
ana =o ga--an =CV =liag =o ang ma =kampang
child =1S.G IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like =1S.G LKR INF,ABL,GF =speak.with

tanira ong talele-ta." 39. Ka-yat si si Nay Coroy.
tanira ong talele-ta ka-yat sii si Nay Coroy
3P.F OBL each.one climb.up again PM.T Mom Coroy

40. Ganing ong yamen, "Magampang amo ono don ong
ga =aning ong yamen mag =ampang amo ono doon ong
IMP,AF =say OBL 1PE.O INF,AF =converse 2P.T RS LOC3 OBL

maki-lep ong may pandan ig talele-ta ong nindio tang
ma =ki-lep ong may pandan ig talele-ta ong nindio tang
ADJ =dark OBL exist pandanus and each.one OBL 2P.O TOP

tomaboan tang galiagan nang
om =taboan tang ga--an =CV =liag na =ang
INF,AF =go.down TOP IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like 3S.G =LKR

makampang." 41. Aroy! 42. Kaki-lepki-lepan, ig
ma =kampang aroy ka--an =ki-lep =REDUP ig
INF,ABL,GF =speak.with INTJ SUPER =dark =INTENS and

dorong eled amen asta agnirbiosono rang pisan.
doro =ang eled amen asta ag--on =nirbios =o ra =ang pisan
much =LKR fear 1PE.G and IMP,GF =nervous =1S.T already =LKR very

43. "Aningen mo kay indi ami ra sapayen na
aning =en mo kay indi ami ra sapay =en na
say =INF,GF 2S.G REQ NEG1 1PE.T already insist =INF,GF 3S.G

tenged dorong eled amen. 44. Ig tata pa, sari-saring kalag
tenged doro =ang eled amen ig taata pa sari-sari =ng kalag
because much =LKR fear 1PE.G and one still various =LKR soul

tang papaning tarin. 45. Itaben belag ta si Tatay ta
tang CV =paning tarin itaben belag ta si tatay ta
TOP IMP,AF =go LOC1 perhaps NEG2 GEN PM.T father 1PI.G

makampang amen." 46. Ganing si Nay Coroy,
ma =kampang amen ga =aning si Nay Coroy
INF,ABL,GF =speak.with 1PE.G IMP,AF =say PM.T Mom Coroy

38. She said that Father said, "I want to speak to each of my children alone."

39. Auntie Coroy went inside the house again.

40. She said to us, "He says you are to talk over there in the shadows near the pandanus tree, and he wants to speak with you one at a time."

41. Oh my! 42. It was so dark, and we were so afraid and I was already really nervous.

43. "Please tell him not to insist that we do this because we are so frightened. 44. And besides that, there are many different souls that come here. 45. It might not be our father who we talk to."

46. Auntie Coroy said, "Your father is the one who is waiting there now."

"Si tatay mi tang mandian ang pagelat don."
si tatay mi tang mandian ang pag =elat doon
PM.T father 2P.G TOP now LKR IMP,AF =wait LOC3

47. Ganing ami, "Aningen mo kay, mga poidi ong nio
ga =aning ami aning =en mo kay mga poidi ong nio
IMP,AF =say 1PE.T say =INF,GF 2S.G REQ if can OBL 2S.O

ra lamang yaning na." 48. Ganing, "Indi ono.
ra lamang i =aning na ga =aning indi ono
already only INF,GF =say 3S.G IMP,AF =say NEG1 RS

49. Yamo enged tang galiliagan na."
yamo enged tang ga--an =CV =liag na
2P.F INTENS TOP IMP,ABL,RF =PL =like 3S.G

50. Otro siminaboan si Nay Coroy ig inaning
otro imin =taboan si Nay Coroy ig in =aning
again PERF,AF =go.down PM.T Mom Coroy and PERF,GF =say

na ra si Tatay na, "Ang mga ana mo ay indi
na ra si tatay na ang mga ana mo ay indi
3S.G already PM.T father COMP TOP PL child 2S.G INV NEG1

magparet tenged dorong eled nira." 51. Ang sabat na,
mag =paret tenged doro =ang eled nira ang sabat na
INF,AF =obey because very =LKR fear 3P.G TOP answer 3S.G

"Anday bali mga tanira ay geldan ong yen.
anda =ay bali mga tanira ay ag--an =eled ong yen
NEG3 =INV matter if 3P.F INV IMP,RF =fear OBL 1S.O

52. Aningen mo ang papiliso ay dilemen iira
aning =en mo ang papilis =o ay dilem =en iira
say =INF,GF 2S.G TOP papers =1S.G INV look.for =INF,GF 3P.G

ong kabinito, ig si Helen indi pabaya-bayan
ong kabinit =o ig si Helen indi pabaya =REDUP =an
OBL cabinet =1S.G and PM.T Helen NEG1 neglect =DIMIN =INF,IF

nira. 53. Kaministiran tabangan nira ang
nira ka--an =ministir tabang =an nira ang
3P.G NLR =need help =INF,RF 3P.G LKR

padalen tenged kinampos da tang
pa =adal =en tenged in =kampos da tang
CAUS =study =INF,GF because PERF,GF =run.out already TOP

47. We said, "Please ask him, if he can just tell you."
48. She said, "He says no.

49. You are the ones he really wants to talk to."

50. Then Auntie Coroy went down again and said to Father, "Your children won't obey because they are very frightened."

51. His answer was, "Never mind if they are afraid of me.

52. Tell them to look for my papers in my closet, and that they shouldn't neglect Helen.

53. They need to help put her through school because my strength has run out.

poirsao. 54. Ig yo ay magatedo ong nira don
poirsa =o ig yo ay mag =ated =o ong nira doon
strength =1S.G and 1S.F INV INF,AF =escort =1S.T OBL 3P.O LOC3

ong balay."
ong balay
OBL house

54. And I will escort them home."

55. Asing mga alas dosi tang labi,
asii =ang mga alas dosi tang labii
D3 =LKR approximate o'clock twelve DEF night

nabasio ta gogoy. 56. Ang isipo
naa =basi =o ta CV =goy ang isip =o
PERF,ABL,AF =hear =1S.T GEN I MP,AF =call TOP think =1S.G

pamakal. 57. Aroy! 58. Mintras gaboay
paang =bakal aroy mintras gaa =boay
IMP,AF =buy INTJ while IMP,STAT =long.time

pambael ang pambael tang bosis ig klaro ang
paang =bael ang paang =bael tang bosis ig klaro ang
IMP,AF =big LKR IMP,AF =big TOP voice and clear LKR

55. At about twelve o'clock that night, I heard someone calling.
56. I thought someone was wanting to buy something.[1]

57. Oh my!
58. Gradually the voice got louder and louder and clearly said, "Cesar."

ganing "Cesar." 59. Ganingo, "Aroy! 60. Si Tatay
ga =aning Cesar ga =aning =o aroy si tatay
IMP,AF =say Cesar IMP,AF =say =1S.T INTJ PM.T father

gogoy." 61. Asing pinoawo ra si
CV =goy asi =ang in =poaw =o ra si
IMP,AF =call when =LKR PERF,GF =wake =1S.G already PM.T

Manong biglang nalipat tang bosis.
manong bigla =ang na =lipat tang bosis
older.brother sudden =LKR PERF,STAT =lose TOP voice

59. I said, "Oh my!
60. Father is calling."

61. When I woke up my older brother, the voice suddenly went away.

62. Otro moman ang labi napaning ami si ong
otro moman ang labii na =paning ami sii ong
again next LKR night PERF,AF =go 1PE.T again OBL

da Nay Coroy. 63. Ganing tang manango, "Nay
da Nay Coroy ga =aning tang manang =o Nay
PM.PL.O Mom Coroy IMP,AF =say TOP older.sister =1S.G Mom

62. Then the next night we went again to Auntie Coroy's.
63. My older sister said, "Auntie Coroy, tell Father to come to our

[1] This household, like many Agutaynen households, operated a small variety store from their front room.

Coroy, aningen mo si Tatay paning don ong balay mga
Coroy aning =en mo si tatay paning doon ong balay mga
Coroy say =INF,GF 2S.G PM.T father go LOC3 OBL house if

yo ra lamang tang gapoaw." 64. Aroy!
yo ra lamang tang gaa =poaw aroy
1S.F already only TOP IMP,STAT =awake INTJ

65. Inaningan ni Nay Coroy ig napaning kaman.
in--an =aning ni Nay Coroy ig na =paning kaman
PERF,RF =say PM.G Mom Coroy and PERF,AF =go indeed

66. Ang oras ang asi ang manango ya ra lamang tang
ang oras ang asii ang manang =o ya ra lamang tang
TOP time LKR D3 TOP older.sister =1S.G PRO already only TOP

gapoaw. 67. Nagkonoari tanandia ang
gaa =poaw nag =konoari tanandia ang
IMP,STAT =awake PERF,AF =pretend 3S.F LKR

gapoyat piro ong matod gapoaw.
gaa =poyat piro ong ma =tood gaa =poaw
IMP,STAT =sleep but OBL ADJ =true IMP,STAT =awake

68. Nagkopot tanandia tang kolton asing
nag =kopot tanandia tang kolton asi =ang
PERF,AF =cover.head 3S.F DEF blanket when =LKR

gabasi tanandia ta lapak-lapak. 69. Mandian, mintras
gaa =basi tanandia ta lapak-lapak mandian mintras
IMP,STAT =hear 3S.F GEN foot.steps now while

tanandia ay paglekey, konoari golagek. 70. Aroy!
tanandia ay pag =lekey konoari go =olagek aroy
3S.F INV IMP,AF =feign.sleep pretend IMP,AF =snore INTJ

71. Mintras golagek mas intel tang talinga na
mintras ga =olagek mas in =etel tang talinga na
while IMP,AF =snore more PERF,GF =pinch TOP ear 3S.G

may kalima na ta kasitsitan, ig ang lapak-lapak
may kalima na ta ka--an =siit =REDUP ig ang lapak-lapak
and hand 3S.G GEN SUPER =pain =INTENS and TOP foot.steps

sigi-sigi. 72. Ong ori tenged pisan dang geldan
sigi-sigi ong ori tenged pisan da =ang ag--an =eled
continuous OBL last because indeed already =LKR IMP,RF =fear

house when I'm the only one awake."

64. Oh my!

65. Auntie Coroy told him and he really did come to our house.
66. At that time my older sister was the only one still awake.
67. She was pretending to be asleep but really she was awake.

68. She covered her head with the blanket when she heard footsteps.
69. Now while she was feigning sleep, she was pretending to snore.
70. Oh my!

71. While she was snoring her ear and hand were painfully pinched and the sound of steps continued.

72. Finally, because she was so frightened she called out to Mother.

giminoy da ong ni Nanay. 73. Paggoy na ong ni
imin =goy da ong ni nanay pag =goy na ong ni
PERF,AF =call already OBL PM.O mother when =call 3S.G OBL PM.O

Nanay biglang nalipat tang lapak-lapak ig anda
nanay bigla =ang na =lipat tang lapak-lapak ig anda
mother sudden =LKR PERF,STAT =lose TOP foot.steps and NEG3

kay taw ang inita.
ka =ay taw ang in =ita
EXP =INV person LKR PERF,GF =see

73. When she called for Mother the sound of steps suddenly stopped and there was no one to be seen.

74. Maramal tang kalibotan napaning ami
maramal tang ka--an =libot na =paning ami
next.morning DEF NLR =go.around PERF,AF =go 1PE.T

si ong balay ni Nay Coroy. 75. Ganing ami,
sii ong balay ni Nay Coroy ga =aning ami
again OBL house PM.G Mom Coroy IMP,AF =say 1PE.T

"Aningen mo kay si Tatay pamisan amen
aning =en mo kay si tatay pa =misa =an amen
say =INF,GF 2S.G REQ PM.T father CAUS =mass =INF,RF 1PE.G

da ka ig ang tanan ang toyon na ay nata-wanan
da ka ig ang tanan ang toyon na ay na--an =tako
already EXP and TOP all LKR instruct 3S.G INV PERF,ABL,RF =know

amen da ka ig ang papilis ay inita amen da
amen da ka ig ang papilis ay in =ita amen da
1PE.G already EXP and TOP papers INV PERF,GF =see 1PE.G already

74. The next morning we went again to Auntie Coroy's house.
75. We said, "Please tell Father that we'll have a mass said for him and that we have understood all of his instructions and we've also found his papers.

ka. 76. Mga ang problima na ong ni Helen sia
ka mga ang problima na ong ni Helen asia
EXP if TOP problem 3S.G OBL PM.O Helen PRO

padalen amen ka."
pa =adal =en amen ka
CAUS =study =INF,GF 1PE.G EXP

76. And if he's worried about Helen, we will put her through school."

77. Ig tegka don ong paganing ni Nay Coroy na ang
ig tegka doon ong pag =aning ni Nay Coroy na ang
and until LOC3 OBL NLR =say PM.G Mom Coroy COMP TOP

tanan ang katobolan na ay paretem amen, indi
tanan ang ka--an =tobol na ay paret =en amen indi
all LKR NLR =command 3S.G INV obey =INF,GF 1PE.G NEG1

77. And since the time Auntie Coroy told him that we would obey all of his commands, he hasn't returned to our house.

ra	ka	nagbalik		ong	yamen	asta	mandian.	78. Animan,	78. So, as for me, I really do believe that souls return.
ra	ka	nag	=balik	ong	yamen	asta	mandian	animan	
already	indeed	PERF,AF	=return	OBL	1PE.O	until	now	therefore	

yo	talagang	pagpareto		na	ang	kalag	ay	
yo	talaga	=ang	pag =paret	=o	na	ang	kalag	ay
1S.F	really	=LKR	IMP,AF =believe	=1S.T	COMP	TOP	soul	INV

pagbalik.
pag =balik
IMP,AF =return

PART II

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Child Giving and Child Receiving in a Lowland Philippine Society

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1. Introduction

1.1. Demographics

The island of Agutaya is located on the eastern border of Palawan, the largest and westernmost province of the Philippines. The municipality of Agutaya is made up of ten *barangays*.[1] Five are on the small (six square miles) island of Agutaya where the municipal seat is, and the remaining five are outlying islands (see map). The closest trade island is Cuyo, approximately twenty miles to the south. The language spoken on Agutaya is classified by Zorc (1977:22) as part of the Kalamian group of the Meso-Philippine language family.

This rural lowland Christian Filipino group has a population of 8,000–10,000. According to Quakenbush (1989:34), a 1984 census taken by the local health department listed the population of the municipality of Agutaya at over 5,100. The remaining Agutaynen speakers are spread throughout the Philippines with the majority living on mainland Palawan in Puerto Princesa City (the provincial capital), Roxas, San Vicente and Brooke's Point (see map).

There is very little opportunity for economic advancement on Agutaya. Small plots of scarce land mean farmers cannot grow enough rice to meet their families' needs. Many travel to Palawan to help relatives there at harvest time and bring their share home to Agutaya. Fishing can be a difficult livelihood as the surrounding seas are often too rough for their small outrigger canoes. The main employer on Agutaya is the government, with employees in the municipal offices, health clinic and schools. Many Agutaynens leave Agutaya in search of a better living. There are several Agutaynen communities on Palawan, the largest being in San Vicente where there is a large amount of farm land.

Education is a core value for the Agutaynens. The 1980 Palawan census showed that 87% of the population was literate. It also showed that in the 18–24 age group, 53% finished high school; of those, 52% went on to college. Whether or not they earn a degree, these Agutaynens usually stay and work where they studied, seldom returning home. Children who leave Agutaya and eventually find employment are then able to help support their parents and families back home, often helping with the education of younger siblings.

[1] A unit of municipal government roughly corresponding to a traditional community or village; each barangay has an elected barangay captain and elected officers. Large barangays may be subdivided into sitios.

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1.2. Social Organization and Kinship

The structure of Agutaynen society is typical of other lowland Philippine cultures. The case studies we did reflect the social organization and values discussed below.

Philippine social organization has as its basic units the nuclear family and the bilateral extended family which includes all the relatives of the father and mother. Within the extended family it is the sibling group which is the key group; the lifelong sibling relationship is vital even after marriage. The sibling group and the nuclear family form the primary basis of corporate action. Sibling relationships are characterized by solidarity, loyalty and responsibility. The close relation between siblings is based on the idea of "blood" links, i.e. being of the same blood (cf. Jocano 1983:134). Siblings look after one another's children, their nieces and nephews. Aunts and uncles are considered second parents and are shown the same respect given to parents. Cousins are usually close, especially if they reside in the same *barangay*.

The unity of extended families can be reinforced by residential patterns where siblings tend to live in close proximity. If the family is large, as well as localized, they can become powerful and influential. This can be demonstrated on Agutaya where four siblings and their families live in *barangay* Abagat. For several years one brother was the *barangay* captain and another brother had been the mayor.

Newly married couples may reside with or near either the bride's family or the groom's family. Family life centers around the children. Birth of a child formalizes the nuclear family, making it a structural unit. It is the child which forms the alliance between the two families, being the only one equally related to both the father's kin group and the mother's kin group (Fox 1961).

The relationship between the husband and wife is traditionally egalitarian. Although the father is the acknowledged head of the household, at home it is the wife who dominates the activities and handles the finances. Both parents share in child rearing. On Agutaya it is not uncommon for an unemployed husband to stay at home and care for the children if his wife is a teacher or office worker.

As in all Philippine cultures, children are of high value to the Agutaynens. Older siblings, aunts, uncles and grandparents form strong affectionate bonds with the child. Older siblings enjoy the respect of younger siblings and can exercise authority over them. They are also expected to contribute to the expense of educating younger siblings. In our interviews, Agutaynens stated that they desired to have children in order to have a companion and someone to help them with household chores and work in the fields. It is important to have a child in the house to send on errands. Children also give joy and meaning to life. Children are duty bound to support their parents in their old age and the children are the ones who inherit their land and property. Parents whose grown children are all studying in college or living away from Agutaya often find themselves without a companion in the house. Because so many young people leave Agutaya and do not return, some parents fear that they will not have anyone to care for them in their old age.

Land is inherited from both one's mother and father. Land and wealth are divided equally among the children without respect to age or sex. Siblings may cultivate the fields they have inherited in common or individually. Siblings who live far away do not usually get a share in the harvest. If they are financially secure they often give their part of the land to the siblings farming it.

1.3. Research and Methodology

This paper is based on data gathered while we lived on the island of Agutaya for a 16-month period in 1990–1991. Most of that time was spent learning the language, doing participant observation and establishing relationships and friendships with the people. During that time we came to realize how important having children is to Agutaynens. Since we are single, we were often asked who will take care of us in our old age. We, in turn, began asking that same question of our single friends and acquaintances there.

We began to see what we thought was a high percentage of single women (never married) on Agutaya. Table 1 is from the 1980 Palawan census of Agutaya and appears to confirm our own observations.

Table 1. Marital Status Data from 1980 Census

	Age 35 & over		Never married		Married		Separated/no ans.	
Male	651	(45%)	41	(6%)	546	(84%)	64	(10%)
Female	785	(55%)	140	(18%)	495	(63%)	150	(19%)
Total	1436		181	(13%)	1041	(72%)	214	(15%)

Our questions and observations led us to formally investigate the topic of formal and informal adoption. We decided to include childless married couples, singles, elderly parents and foster parents. The methodology used in our research was an interview, tape recorded when permission was granted. We conducted fourteen formal interviews, drew maps and elicited genealogies for making kinship charts. The people we interviewed were suggested to us by friends and were of varying ages and backgrounds. Table 2 is a summary of the biodata of the people interviewed. (The numbers represent the number in each category of those individuals interviewed.)

Table 2. People Interviewed for This Study

Sex and marital status		**Role**	
Single female	7	Child receiver	11
Single male	1	Child giver	2
Married female	6	Child (grown)	1
Occupation		**Economic level**	
Teacher	5	Middle class	7
Business	2	Lower middle	4
Farmer	7	Lower class	3

Seventeen case studies were obtained through these interviews. Three case studies were the results of interviews with second parties. Since the interviewees were not the child

receiver/giver, they have not been included in table 2. Some case studies involved more than one child; these are subdivided using the letters a, b, c, for a total of 27 child receiver–child giver exchanges (see appendix B). Case studies involving teachers who have had several nieces and nephews living with them are subdivided by groups of siblings (families) rather than by each child.

All of the people interviewed live in one of the three *barangays* which make up the main town, or *poblasyon*, on Agutaya. This is where we reside and where the municipal building, Catholic church, health clinic and high school are located (see map). One exception to the above was a woman who lives and works in the *poblasyon* during the week and goes home to *barangay* Villa Sol on weekends.

We believe that these case studies reflect child giving and receiving practices among the Agutaynen people. The conclusions in this paper were drawn from these case studies as well as the interviewees' comments, feelings and answers to questions about child giving among Agutaynens, and our own personal observations.

2. Components of Child Giving/Receiving

2.1. Types of Child Giving/Receiving

There are several types of child giving/receiving practiced among Agutaynens (table 3, see also appendix B). The less common is legal adoption in which adoption papers are drawn up by a lawyer and the child's surname is legally changed to that of the adopting parent or parents (case studies 3b, 5). More often the surname of the child is changed at the local municipal office or health clinic (case studies 7c, 9b, 12). Another semi-formal method is to change the last name on the school register once the child begins school (case study 11b).

Table 3. Types of Child Giving/Receiving

	Exchanges	
Type of child receiving	**out of 25**	**%**
Legal adoption	2	8
Name changed at municipal office	3	12
Name changed on school roll	1	4
Informal	11	44
Temporary for schooling	7	28
Fostering	1	4

Informal child receiving is more common and does not involve changing the surname of the child (case studies 2a, 3a, 4, 7a,b, 8a,b,c, 13, 16, 17). In two cases the child and the child receiver already shared the same last name. The child usually grows up knowing who his/her biological parents are and they may even live in the same town. Child giving also occurs in cases of births out of wedlock when the mother is unable to care for the child (case studies 7c, 8c, 12). The last name may or may not be changed. Fostering, i. e. caring for a child temporarily when the parent(s) are not able to, does not involve changing the child's last name.

Temporary arrangements of child giving are almost always for educational reasons and companionship (case studies 1, 6, 10, 14, 15). A child will live with a close relative, usually an aunt, who pays for all of the child's school expenses, food and clothing. After the schooling is completed, the child returns to its own parents.

2.2. Linguistic Terms

The Agutaynen terms used for these various types of child giving/receiving reflect the relationship between the child receiver and the child. Legal adoption, or *amponon*, is a specific term referring to the adoption of a child, either by legal action or through changing the child's last name. The child receiver legally becomes the child's parent. However the actual relationship between the adoptive parent and child varies with the situation and terms of reference and address may reflect this.

People who have acquired a child informally and raised him/her as their own use the term *pinabael*, meaning 'to raise' (lit. cause to become large). In this context it implies the same responsibilities and care for the child's physical and emotional needs as a real parent would have towards their child. The term *pinabael* is not limited to child receiving but can also be used in a general sense as in the phrase, *pinabaelo ong Negros*, 'I was raised on Negros', or *pinabaelo tang manango*, 'I was raised by my older sister'.

Foster care of children is referred to as *agsagodon*, 'to care for'. The term can also be used with regards to informal adoption but is less common than *pinabael*. The term meaning 'to care for' is also applied to the care of other dependents such as elderly parents and the ill. It implies care for the person's immediate physical needs.

Temporary situations in which the relative is paying for the child's schooling are referred to using the term *padalen*, 'to school/educate' (lit. to cause, allow to study). This is also a general term applied to any situation in which a child is being supported in school.

2.3. Potential Child Receivers

Among Agutaynens, potential child receivers are primarily childless couples and single women (see table 4, also appendix B). Other child receivers are married couples with children who become foster parents for nieces or nephews or who agree to take a sibling's child in order to provide him/her an education. There are also instances of grandparents taking a grandchild when the child has been born of a single mother. In two case studies (1, 6) school teachers living away from Agutaya asked for a child to be a companion for their elderly parents on Agutaya. Generally child receivers are better off financially than child givers.

Married couples without children are usually aware of fertility testing and may or may not avail themselves of it. Their preference is to adopt a child in Manila, that is, formally adopt through an orphanage, or to get a child through private channels. They do not want a child who will know who his/her parents are and who may return to them later. However, because legal adoption involves financial expenditures, it is more common for a couple to ask for a close relative's child to raise as their own (case studies 4, 7b, 9a,b, 11a,b, 17). They generally wish to change the surname of the child to theirs for purposes of inheritance. This may or may not be in conflict with the desires of the biological parents. Some couples are forced to pursue legal adoption if they are the oldest of their siblings and the younger siblings do not yet have many children. Parents usually do not want to give a child if they only have three or four children.

Table 4. Marital Status of Child Receivers

	Exchanges	
Child receivers	**out of 27**	**%**
Childless couple	10	37
Married with children	3	11
Single female	13	48
Single male	1	4
(For elderly parents)	(2)	

The reasons married couples give for wanting to adopt a child are so that they will have a companion, someone to help in the house and send on errands, someone to care for them in their old age and to inherit their land and property.

There is a high percentage of single women over the age of 35 on Agutaya (see table 1). When the single women we interviewed were asked why they had not married, their first response was that no one was interested in them. But in most cases, on further questioning, they said that they were not keen to get married because of what they report to be a high use of alcohol by the men on Agutaya. All said they preferred to have a child over a husband. One woman (case study 14) was the oldest of ten siblings and raised her younger brothers and sisters after their mother died when they were still very young. She stated that it would not be right for her to marry and neglect her siblings. There are also instances of parents who have refused to allow a daughter to marry, preferring her to remain with them to ensure there will be someone to care for them in their old age. There are a large number of school teachers who have not married and their reason is that their career is very time consuming and they do not have time for a family. Also, a school teacher on Agutaya sees few potential marriage partners. There are very few men in professional jobs and most school teachers are not keen to marry below their educational and socio-economic level.

If their parents are still living, these single women live with them and support them. If their parents are deceased they may live with a sister or other female relative or alone. Often a niece will live with an aunt, especially if she lives alone. If they are financially able to, single women help with the education of their nieces and nephews. This is particularly true of school teachers (case studies 1, 10, 15). In many cases the child lives with his or her aunt during the school year. Occasionally single women raise one of their nieces or nephews as their own (case studies 7a, 8a,b,c). In these instances of informal adoption the surname is not changed and the children know who their real mothers are. School teachers do not generally seem to feel the need to adopt or to raise a niece or nephew as their own if they have several nieces and nephews whose schooling they are helping with.

2.4. Potential Child Givers

The potential child givers are mostly married couples with several children, particularly those who cannot financially support and educate them all, as shown on table 5 (see also appendix B). The relationship between the child giver and the child receiver is almost always a sibling–sibling relation. Rarely do cousins give or take a child of another cousin, an exception being case study 17.

Table 5. Marital Status of Child Givers

	Exchanges	
Child givers	out of 25	%
Married couples	21	84
Unmarried female	3	12
Widower	1	4

Unlike child receivers, most child givers prefer that the child receiver live close by so that they can continue to see their child and so that he or she will know who his or her birth parents are. Generally they do not want the surname changed.

Other potential child givers are women who have children out of wedlock and widowers who are unable to care for their children because they are working away from home. In case study 8c, the child was asked for. However, it is more common for the mother (or father) to be the initiator and ask a relative to take the child to raise as their own (case studies 2b, 7b, 12).

2.5. Child Asked For or Given

Of the child receivers interviewed, all said they would prefer to have a girl. They said that it is the girls who are reliable and support and care for their parents when older. Boys tend to be less reliable, running around with their friends rather than staying at home. Single women in particular want a female child, not a male. The woman in case study 8 has raised a nephew and a niece since infancy. She states that her nephew is working in Puerto Princesa and does not send any money home. The girl on the other hand is still at home with her aunt and provides the household with all of their rice by traveling to San Vicente to help at harvest time.

Although the preference is for girls, the ideal and the real are not the same and child receivers often end up with boys. For example, the children born out of wedlock in case studies 8c and 12 were both boys. In case study 4, the sister being asked for a child only had boys. In case study 3a, it was a twin, one of two boys, who was given. The eldest child is not asked for or given and people will not ask a sibling for a child unless the sibling already has several children (case study 3).

Families with only one girl are unlikely to give the girl up. The single woman in case study 7 said she did not ask for a child from one of her sisters because there is only one girl and she did not want to take a boy. In case study 16 the only daughter of a family came to live with her two single aunts on Agutaya who paid for her schooling. After two years the mother took her back because she was the only girl in the family.

The age of the children given in the case studies ranged from four months to 16 years of age. Child givers were not in agreement concerning the age at which a child should be given. Some child givers said it is more difficult to give up an older child, even a three-year-old, because of their attachment to the child. The mothers in case studies 9a and 11a refused to give their children for this reason. Another reason given was that the adoptive mother should have the experience of caring for a newborn. Other child givers said they would rather give the child when he/she was older, at least three years old (case study 4, 7b). The reason given was so that the child will remember who his/her real parents are.

Some child receivers do not like to be given a child who is older because they usually do not stay. The child receivers in case studies 2a, 3a and 16 said they had become attached to the child who had come to live with them, and that it hurt very much when the mother took the child back. At the time of the interview, the couple in case study 3 was pursuing legal adoption in Manila for this reason.

The school teachers interviewed said they did not want to ask for a newborn or pre-schooler because they would not be home during the day to care for the child. But asking for a school-age child seldom works out, especially if the parents also live on Agutaya. The child invariably goes home to his/her parents (case study 10b).

Table 6. Permanence of Child Receiving

	Child received permanently	Temporary for education*	Returned/ refused	Total	%
female	9	7	3	19	61
male	4	4	4	12	39
<1 years	7	0	2	9	29
2–6 years	1	0	2	3	10
7–12 years	4	5	3	12	39
13–17 years	1	6	0	7	23

*temporary situations involving school teachers and nieces and nephews who are living with the aunt while attending school

3. Factors Related to Child Giving

3.1. Land and Inheritance

Land and other property are passed on to one's children and divided equally among them. Keeping land within the nuclear family or sibling group is very important and Agutaynens without a child to inherit their land worry that cousins or other relatives will attempt to take their land when they die. Land and inheritance were major factors behind child giving in 23% of the child giver–receiver exchanges.

When parents allow a child to be adopted and raised by a family with considerable land or wealth, it is with the knowledge that in the future they will most likely benefit from the arrangement. The child will inherit this wealth and when grown will be in a position to help his/her birth parents and brothers and sisters (case studies 5, 9b, 11b). This can be a strong motivating factor for child givers who may not otherwise want to part with a child.

In these cases there is some type of formal adoption with the surname of the child being changed. Case study 11b is an example of a married couple without children who adopted the second daughter of the wife's sister. At the time the child was seven years old. This couple live away from Agutaya and the husband's family have a considerable amount of land. (The wife had previously been married to her husband's older brother. When he died, the younger brother married his brother's widow in order to keep the land within the family.) The child was raised with her adoptive parents' surname. The girl continued to use

her adoptive parents' last name until she graduated from college. At that time her older sister insisted that she change her last name back to their family name. The reason given was that the girl's birth parents and siblings would have a better chance to share in the inherited wealth from her adoptive parents if the girl shared their last name. Even if the girl changed her name back to her birth parents' surname she would still inherit her adoptive parents' land, being their only beneficiary. In addition she is still eligible to receive her share of her birth parents' land.

Sometimes formal adoption for inheritance purposes can be on paper only with little or no change in the actual relationships and living situations of the people involved. Case study 5 is an example of this. A niece was adopted by her maiden aunt in order to become the legal beneficiary of her aunt's property and wealth which was a considerable amount. The girl was already in high school when she was adopted. The girl had grown up living between her parents' house and her aunt's house. After her "adoption" she lived at her aunt's house for a year before going off to college in Manila.

If the child receiver and the child already share the same last name (for example a brother giving a child to a brother), it is often felt that legal adoption is not necessary. Having the same surname seems to be more important to the adoptive parents and besides, going through a lawyer costs money. However in some cases if legal papers are not made, problems can arise later. Siblings or cousins may try to claim the adoptive parent's land, saying that they have no child to inherit it even though they have raised a relative's child as their own. Case study 17 illustrates this situation. In this case the adoptive mother, whose adopted daughter was now a grown woman, went to a lawyer and had papers made naming her daughter as her legal beneficiary. The relatives' response was that legal adoption papers would make no difference to them with regard to land inheritance.

Married couples said that an adopted child would inherit all their land and property. Also that if they were to have a natural child later on, they would still want the inheritance to be equally divided between the two children.

In cases of informal adoption, mostly involving single women, the child receivers seemed less sure about who would be the one to receive their share of the family's land. It would seem that the land would go to the child whom they had raised as their own, but in all cases their answers were that it would go to whoever "served them" in their old age. School teachers who have educated several nieces or nephews also made the statement that their land and house will go to whoever cares for them in their old age.

3.2. Companionship/Helper

As was stated earlier, it is important for Agutaynens to have a child in the house for companionship and to help with chores and run errands. Almost all the child receivers interviewed mentioned these as major reasons for asking for a child. School teachers solve this problem by schooling nieces and nephews who live with them during the school year.

Single women with married siblings living nearby often "share" their siblings' children (case studies 5, 7a, 14). Nieces and nephews take turns living or sleeping at an aunt's house to provide her with a companion and helper. These cases reflect the *te-bek*, pity or concern, that a married sibling feels for an unmarried sister. In turn the aunt feeds the children and helps them with school supplies, uniforms, etc.

Case studies 1 and 6 are examples of a single male teacher and a single female teacher who teach away from Agutaya. Their elderly parents still live on Agutaya and they help support them. To provide their parents with a companion in the house, these teachers have asked their siblings, also living away from Agutaya, for one of their children to come and

live with the grandparents and go to school in Agutaya. In return the teacher will fully support the child, perhaps even through college, and may even name the child as his/her beneficiary.

In case study 13, a widow whose children were going away to college found herself without a companion in the house. Her solution was to ask her younger brother in Manila to give her one of his daughters whom she would raise and send to school in Agutaya. The child came to Agutaya when she was seven years old. At the time of the interview she was 15 and had never returned to Manila.

3.3. Care in Old Age

Having someone to care for them in their old age was a great concern of all the people interviewed and a major reason for wanting children. However, because so many young people leave Agutaya and do not return, there is no guarantee that one's children, whether birth child or adopted, will be around to care for one in his/her old age. For people without children, the possibility of having no one to care for them in their old age can be a real fear. This fear was expressed by two single sisters who were living with a younger widowed sister and her 11 year old daughter. In the interview the two women said that their niece was spoiled and lazy and not very helpful. They have nephews but the only other niece lives in Roxas and is now grown and married. The two sisters said that they hope someone will have pity on them and care for them. "If no one helps us or feeds us, we will just die."

This is what happened a few years ago to one of two elderly sisters. The two elderly sisters were both single, no adopted children and no nieces or nephews living on Agutaya. They did have nieces and nephews living on Palawan but never heard from them. One of the sisters became ill and the other sister was not able to care for her. Although extended relatives showed a concern for the sick woman when they realized how serious her situation was, by then it was too late to help her. She died within the week.

Single women who are very close to their nieces and nephews or who have schooled several of them do not seem so concerned with the future. The woman in case 14 seemed confident that someone will care for her in her old age. She said she is very close to her siblings, having raised them after their mother died, and also to all her nieces and nephews. All of the single women interviewed said that their land would go to whoever "serves them" in their old age. This may be the incentive used to ensure that one of their nieces and nephews will stay around and care for them.

It was felt by another source that the school teacher in case study 15 will probably go to live with one of her nieces or nephews in Brooke's Point after she retires. These nieces and nephews lived with her for several years while they attended school in Agutaya and she is very close to them. However most older single women would not want to leave Agutaya. The woman in case study 7a said the niece she raised as her own child most likely will marry and stay in Puerto Princesa but she has no desire to move over there. She has no idea who will care for her when she is old. She has other nieces and nephews in Agutaya but is not close to that family.

3.4. Education

Education is a high value for Agutaynens and an important factor in child giving and receiving. It was a major factor in 15 of the exchanges, or 58%. Being able to give the child a good education is often the incentive used by child receivers in asking for a child. In case study 8 an older sister asked for her unmarried younger sister's child. The younger sister was

going back to San Vicente, on Palawan, to live. The older sister convinced her to leave the baby with her, saying it would be easier for him to attend the school in Agutaya, which was right down the street, as compared to San Vicente where he would have to walk a long distance.

In case 13 the child givers were living at near poverty level in Manila and the older children were selling plastic bags in the market instead of going to school. The father agreed to let his older widowed sister take his seven year old daughter to raise and school on Agutaya.

As was stated previously, single school teachers on Agutaya help with the educational expenses of their nieces and nephews. This varies from helping occasionally with school fees and uniforms, to fully supporting a child, sometimes all the way through college. In the latter case the child usually lives with the aunt, which provides her, and her elderly parents, with a companion and helper.

Single women who are not professionals do not have the means to be the sole benefactors of their nieces' and nephews' educations but will help as they can, buying pencils, papers, uniforms, etc. Women in this category who raise a sibling's child as their own do not always have the financial ability to provide the child with a college education even though they would like to. In case study 8b a single woman raised one of her nieces from infancy. She paid for all the girl's schooling through high school and would also have sent her to college but lost her job and was not able to do so.

In case study 7a this woman's niece lived with her from age seven until she went to Puerto Princesa City to attend college. The aunt was a farmer and sent money to her niece as she was able but also relied on the girl's older sister, who had an office job, to help with school expenses. One summer vacation the niece came home and told her aunt that she would like to quit college and just stay home and care for her and help her on the farm. However the aunt insisted that her niece return and finish her college education, even though she knew it might mean that she would get a job in Puerto Princesa and never return to Agutaya to live.

3.5. Socio-economic Factors

As can be seen in table 7, the socio-economic status of most child givers tends to be lower than that of most child receivers.

Table 7. Socio-economic Status of Child Givers and Receivers

Socio-economic status	Receiver	%	Giver	%
Wealthy land owner	3	11	0	0
Business	3	11	0	0
Teacher	6	22	1	4
Office	5	19	2	8
Farmer	10	37	17	68
Other	0	0	2	8
Unemployed	0	0	3	12

Parents are more willing to part with one of their children if they are financially unable to support and school all of them. If parents can afford to raise and educate all of their children they may not be eager to give one of them up, especially if the child receiver lives at a distance. The comment of the school teacher in case study 6 was that her brother in Davao probably would not give her one of his five children to bring to Agutaya if he and his wife were both employed and could support them.

The school teacher in case study 15 has helped all of her 15 nieces and nephews with their schooling. The six who have actually lived with her over the years belong to two families in Brooke's Point, Palawan. The reason they came to Agutaya to go to school was that many of the schools in Brooke's Point are private and very expensive. This is an example of reciprocity in which the two families were helped financially and the aunt was provided with companions over many years.

In case 8b a married sister agreed to give her year-old daughter to her unmarried sister who also lives in Agutaya. The mother is a farmer with seven children to support and allowing the baby to stay with the sister would free her to work in her fields.

Socio-economics may be a strong motivating factor for child giving but it is always balanced with other factors. One young couple on Agutaya has eight children, all boys. The husband fishes and does some carpentry work, and they find it difficult to educate all their children. When the fifth boy was born, a younger married sister of the mother asked for him to raise as her own child. She and her husband had been married for several years and at the time had no children of their own. They both have good office jobs on Palawan and would have been able to give the child a good future and help the child's family financially. However, the parents refused to give their baby up, saying that the sister lived too far away and they could not bear the thought of not seeing their child again. Also the sister works in an office and would have to hire a *yaya* 'nursemaid' for the child. The father especially did not want his child to be cared for by a stranger.

3.6. Debt of Gratitude

The system of *utang ng loob* 'debt of gratitude' practiced in the Philippines can exert powerful pressure on people to grant the requests of others. Adoption is no exception. *Utang ng loob* was the main reason behind the child giving in case study 9b. The child givers are poor farmers with several children. The father has a married sister living in Cuyo; both she and her husband have good paying jobs. They do not have any children of their own and have been helping to support her brother's children on Agutaya. When this family's house was demolished in a typhoon, the sister paid for the building of a new house. This sister had previously requested to adopt one of the children, a three-year-old, but had been refused. When the mother was expecting her next child, the two couples agreed that the baby would be adopted by the sister and husband on Cuyo. The mother gave birth to a daughter and when she was four months old took her to Cuyo to her sister-in-law. The mother was not interviewed but other people said the reason the parents gave the baby up was because of the large *utang ng loob* they have to this sister and her husband. They had no other option but to let them take the child.

3.7. Proximity of Residence

As has already been mentioned, childless couples prefer to adopt a child whose parents live far away, but parents do not want to give a child if it means they will not be able to see the child anymore. The parents in case studies 4 and 7b refused to give their child for this

reason. However, they said they would be willing to do so if the child receiver lived on Agutaya.

In most cases, single women with nieces and nephews living away from Agutaya have not asked for any of these children to raise as their own, saying that the parents would not part with a child because of the distance involved. One single woman commented that she wouldn't want to take one of these nieces or nephews because unless they were very small they would cry for their mother and want to go home, not being used to her and her house.

However, other factors such as education, socio-economics, land and inheritance, and debts of gratitude can pressure parents to give up the child in spite of the distance. For example, education and socio-economics were factors in case study 13 where a poor family in Manila allowed their child to be taken and raised on Agutaya; land and inheritance were the factors in case study 11b where a seven-year-old from Cuyo came to live with her aunt on Palawan, and in case study 9 it was a debt of gratitude that pressured the parents to give their infant daughter to the sister on Cuyo.

Other examples are temporary arrangements where a niece or nephew will come from a distance to Agutaya and be supported in school by an aunt or uncle (case studies 1, 15). Usually these children go home during summer vacation but if the distance is great the child may stay on a more permanent basis. One of the nieces in case study 15 came to Agutaya when she was in grade 5 and never returned home. After high school she attended college on Cuyo.

All of the single women interviewed have nieces and nephews living on Agutaya. Some live next door, some down the street and some in another *barangay*. This close proximity makes child giving easier for the child giver. In case studies 8a,b this single woman raised two of her married sister's children. The married sister lives in the same *barangay*, a five-minute walk away. The children came to live with their aunt at a young age and although they did not return to their mother's house, they have grown up knowing that she is their real mother and they see her almost every day. Case study 7a is unique in that it was the seven-year-old niece who packed up her clothes and decided she would move in with her aunt who lived right next door. The child never went back to live in her mother's house although she continued to have a mother–daughter relationship with her.

Table 8. Proximity of Residence of Child Receivers and Child Givers

	Exchanges	
	out of 26	%
Next door	4	15
Same *barangay*	2	8
Different *barangay*	4	15
Distant	16	62

3.8. Orphans and Children Born Out of Wedlock

There are a few families on Agutaya who have become foster parents to their nieces or nephews after the death of one or both of the parents. Case study 2b is an example of this. The young boy's mother died and because the father was moving around a lot and didn't

feel he could care for the child, he asked his brother and sister-in-law to take him. At first the wife did not want to take the boy, saying it would hurt too much if his father returned for him later after she became attached to him. She had experienced this situation several years ago with a nephew she had taken (2a). In the end the couple took the boy and he stayed with them for several years.

There are some children on Agutaya born out of wedlock and the mothers generally keep the children unless for some reason they cannot care for them. In case study 8c the mother was convinced by her older unmarried sister to leave her infant son with her rather than taking him to San Vicente where it would be more difficult to care for him and educate him.

The mother in case study 12 lived in Puerto Princesa and did not have the life-style, or the financial means, to raise her child. She brought the baby boy to a distant relative who she knew was married but childless and asked the woman to raise it and give it her name. The woman did and, being separated from her husband at the time, she registered the boy under her maiden name. In case study 7c the child given to the couple was the child of the husband by another, unmarried, woman.

3.9. Kinship

In all the case studies, except for two instances of children born to unmarried mothers (case studies 7c, 12), and one instance of a cousin giving a child to a cousin (case study 17), the relationship between the child givers and child receivers is sibling–sibling. Several people commented that they would not ask for a child from a cousin. "Cousins are different — they don't think the same as brothers and sisters and wouldn't want to give a child." In contrast, women who willingly gave their child to a sister said that it really didn't matter in whose house the child lived or who raised her. Their comments were "after all, we are the same — we are sisters." This reflects the strong bonds that exist between siblings and their view that siblings share the same blood.

Table 9. Relationship between Child Givers and Child Receivers

		Exchanges	
Child giver	**-> Child receiver**	**out of 26**	**%**
sister	-> sister	14	54
sister	-> brother	2	8
brother	-> brother	1	4
brother	-> sister	5	19
sibling	**-> sibling total =**	**22**	**85**
cousin	-> cousin	1	4
distant relatives		1	4
other		2	7

In the case (17) of a cousin giving a child to a cousin, the two cousins were both married men and lived next door to each other. One had four children and the other had

none. The mother of the cousin without children, i.e. the aunt of the one with children, was the one who actually asked for the child. The child came to live in this household, first as the child of the older woman, and then as the young couple's child after the woman's death.

Small children who are adopted formally and live at some distance from their real parents grow up thinking of their adoptive parents as their real parents. Adoptive parents regard these children as their own and give them all the care and affection they would give their own children. The kinship terms of references and address used in these situations reflect this. The children address their adoptive parents as *tatay* 'father' and *nanay* 'mother'. In case study 9b, the sister on Cuyo who adopted her infant niece wants her to grow up calling her *nanay* 'mother' and her birth mother "auntie", the reverse of the actual blood relation. Conversely, child givers want their children to grow up knowing who their birth parents are and addressing them as mother and father and the adoptive mother as "auntie".

When a child is raised by an aunt and the two sisters live near each other, the child knows who his/her real mother is. The child refers to the aunt with the kinship term *tata* 'aunt' and refers to the mother as *nanay* 'mother'. The child also usually addresses his/her aunt and mother as "auntie" and *nanay* respectively. In case study 8 the aunt who has raised two nephews and a niece has taught them to call her "auntie" even though she has raised them since infancy and they feel closer to her than to their birth mother who lives just down the street. The niece and nephew who are still living with her are first cousins by kinship definition but their relationship is more of a brother–sister relationship. The younger boy calls his cousin *manang*, the term of address for both older sister and older cousin.

The above supports our general observation that Agutaynens are very aware of what their kin relationships are and are careful to use the appropriate terms of address. For example, a person who has an aunt who is actually younger than he/she calls the younger person "auntie" in spite of the age difference.

Most people interviewed said that when adopted children start high school they should be told who their real parents are if they don't know already. Case study 17, a cousin giving a child to a cousin, is unique in that the child was not told who her birth parents were even though she lived next door to them and played with her siblings. She said perhaps her adoptive mother never told her because she was afraid she would want to live in her real mother's house. It was not until she was in high school that she learned who her real mother was and that her playmates were her own brothers and sisters. She had been calling her adoptive mother *nanay* 'mother' and her birth mother *manang* 'older cousin'. She then began addressing her birth mother as *nanay*, at the same time still calling her adoptive mother *nanay*. (Sometimes a word which physically describes the person is attached to the word *nanay* to distinguish one from the other, for example *nanay ang ge-ley* 'small mother', *nanay ang mabael* 'large mother'.) The adopted child in this case study is a grown woman now. At the time of the interview, her husband had left her. She and her four children were living with her adoptive mother. She said she had no deep feelings for her birth mother, and even if her adoptive mother died, she would not move in with her birth mother.

We have noticed that when we ask people how many siblings they have they do not usually include half-siblings, step-siblings, or cousins who have been taken in to be raised by their parents. Neither do parents include their "adopted" children when asked to name their children. This is the case in case study 13 where two older sisters did not count their "adopted sister" (cousin by kinship) as one of their siblings, although they did include their half-sister. Their mother also refers to this niece using the kinship term for niece, *angken*, rather than referring to her as her daughter. However, the child uses the term *ate* 'older sister' to refer to her two cousins, and addresses them as *manang* 'older sister/cousin'. She refers to their mother as her *tata* 'aunt' and addresses her sometimes as "auntie" and sometimes as *nanay* 'mother'. This may reflect the close feelings the child has for this family

who took her in as a small child to raise and educate. She has had no contact with her birth parents in Manila and no desire to return to them or visit them.

In case study 8 the woman who has raised a niece and two nephews said she loves them as her own children and thinks of herself as their mother. However when the younger nephew was seriously ill she was heard to say that she pitied him because "after all he doesn't have a mother or a father." These examples show that child receivers and other family members apparently have some ambivalent feelings regarding the kin relation that exists between them and the adopted child. As stated before, Agutaynens know exactly what their kin relationships are and are careful to refer to relatives using the correct kinship terms. Blood ties are important above all others and adopted children may not in reality be viewed the same way as one's natural children would be.

3.10. Ramifications for Kinship Ties

Although we did not observe any sibling relationships that were closer as a result of child giving and receiving between siblings, that does not exclude the possibility. What we did observe was the strain that is sometimes put on kinship ties in adoption.

Child givers are not always eager to give a child, even to a sibling, if that sibling lives a great distance away. But economic hardship or debts of gratitude can exert great pressure on them to do so. This may strain the relationship between the child giver and the child receiver. It may also cause bad feelings among other relatives who are unhappy about what has happened. This was the situation in case study 9b where parents were pressured by a debt of gratitude to give their baby to a childless sister and husband. The siblings of the father had not been consulted about this and were upset at the parents for giving up their child, reportedly saying, "as if they were selling a pig."

The parents in case study 4 refused to give up their baby to the mother's sister living on Palawan even though she had promised to pay for all of their other children's education. It is uncertain now whether she will still fulfill her offer to them. Gossip had reached her that the parents were upset about her asking for their baby and that they had reportedly said, "It's a dog you ask for, not a child." The sister was angry about this comment and the mother of the child said she would need to write and tell her it was untrue that they had said that.

Child giving and receiving between sisters who live close to one another sometimes results in problems later on. There is often some confusion as to who has more authority — the child's real mother or the aunt who had raised her. In case study 7a the two sisters share the mothering of the child and evidently consult each other before a decision is made regarding the child. It wasn't clear what would happen if they could not agree.

In case study 5 the (unmarried) adopted daughter had a baby which she left on Agutaya so she could finish college in Manila. The two "grandmothers", i.e. her real mother and her adoptive mother (who is her mother's sister), used to disagree over who should be the one to care for the baby. The baby lived at the aunt's house but the girl's mother would come over to mix his bottle.

Child receivers who take in a school-age niece or nephew to raise and educate feel hurt and angry if the mother changes her mind and unexpectedly comes back for the child as in cases 2a, 3a, and 16. It is hard to give up a child after becoming attached to him/her. Consequently they hesitate to take in any other nieces or nephews, as in case study 2b. If a couple have other children, sometimes the children resent their cousin's presence in their home and can be very unkind to the child.

Sometimes sibling relationships can become strained when an adopted child will be the one to inherit land or money. In case 17, the siblings of this woman do not want to recognize her adopted child, because it is said they are hoping to be the beneficiaries themselves.

In case 11b the biological sister of a girl adopted by a wealthy couple pressured the girl to change her last name back to her biological family's so that they will have a way to claim some of her inheritance from her adoptive parents.

Adopted children whose parents live nearby can always run home to their real parents if they feel they are being punished unfairly. This puts the real parent in the position of having to take sides either with the adoptive parent (their sibling), or with their child.

The reason given for telling children they are adopted is so they will not hear it from someone else and "rebel". Children may feel hurt and angry when they learn that their real mother gave them away (case 17). In case study 13, where the parents have cut off communication with their daughter, it is obvious that the girl has been hurt by this and she has no desire to see or visit her parents.

3.11. Obligations, Responsibilities and Expectations

When a child is given to another relative to raise as their own, the child receiver assumes all responsibility for the child's food, clothing and education. The parents are no longer obligated to provide any of the child's physical needs. However, if the real parents live nearby they will continue to have a close relationship with the child and show a deep interest in and concern for his/her well-being. One father said that if his child were being mistreated by adoptive parents and ran home, he would certainly take him in. The aunt in case study 7a has been the one to pay for all the expenses of raising and schooling her niece but the real mother has also shared in her nurturing and discipline.

On the other hand, the parents in case study 13 have not seen or written to their daughter since she came to Agutaya several years ago. The aunt who took her in is said to have scolded the parents for their emotional neglect of their daughter. Their reported response was, "Never mind — she's yours now."

If nieces and nephews are living with an aunt and going to school, the aunt pays for all of their educational expenses, food, clothing, etc. The parents do not send them any money.

All the people interviewed said that once a baby (under a year old) is given, it cannot be taken back. The birth mother in case study 17 tried to take back her infant daughter soon after giving her to a cousin, but was refused. It was stated however that a child receiver can return a young child if the child is very sickly. Most people agreed that adoptive parents are obligated to tell their child who its real parents are by the time he/she starts high school.

Older children are not given if they do not want to go. The seven-year-old in case study 11b wanted to go to live with her aunt and so did the the eight-year-old boy in case study 3a. If children decide they want to return to their real parents, they may. In case study 10b a ten-year-old niece of a school teacher came to live with her aunt and be her own child. But she only stayed one night, then packed up her clothes in a box and went home! More often, it is the parents who take their children back after they have been with the child receivers for a few years (case studies 2a, 3a, 16). The child receivers also have the option of giving these older children back if they misbehave and cause them problems.

It was clear that a child receiver's main obligation to his/her adopted child is to provide it with a good education. Parents of both natural children and adopted children sacrifice greatly in order to send their children to school. As for the child, when child receivers were asked what obligations the child has towards them, the only one mentioned

was that the child should finish school. A college degree gives the child a better opportunity for employment and with it the financial ability to support parents and siblings. The teacher in case study 10 raised and educated a nephew from grade 4 until he graduated from college. She has told him that his only obligation to her is to help with the educational expenses of his younger siblings.

Of the single women asked, none said that the children they had raised or educated were obligated to send them money once they had employment. The phrase they consistently repeated was "if they 'remember' me, I'll thank them. If they don't, I'll excuse them. They aren't obligated to send me anything." However it was also clear that a child who fails to send money or gifts back home to the person who raised or educated him/her is a "bad" person.

Although it was not stated as an obligation, child receivers did say that if a child sends money home most of the money should go to the person who raised him/her. In cases of shared parenting, money can be given to both the mother and the aunt, or money to the mother and gifts to the aunt. School teachers are usually sent gifts by the nieces and nephews they have schooled. All the child receivers said they would accept any money or gifts sent to them.

Single women also would not say that the child they had raised was obligated to care for them in their old age. Again they used the phrase "if they 'remember' me". Child receivers, as well as real parents, know that jobs and marriage may take their children away from Agutaya. It seems that they hope the child will support and care for them, but they are not counting on it. As for inheritance, it has already been mentioned that single women do not say that their land will necessarily go to the child they raised, but rather to whoever cares for them in their old age.

In cases of formal adoption, usually involving married couples, the obligations and expectations seem to be more definite. The married couple in case study 3, who are hoping to adopt a child in Manila, said that all of their inheritance will go to the child and they expect him/her to care for them when they are old.

As for foster children, the woman in case study 2b said that she feels obligated to educate her nephew and even send him to college if his grades are high. However, he will not get a share of the family's inheritance unless the other children, his cousins, decide they want to give him something. In case study 13 the grown daughter of the widow who took in a young niece said that she and her sisters will share the expense of sending this child (their cousin) to college. However, in their opinion the girl is not entitled to any of the family's inheritance.

4. Conclusion

The interviews and case studies in this project reveal the high value that Agutaynens place on children, education and companionship. Child giving and child receiving provide a means for people to acquire these things when their life circumstances would otherwise prohibit it. To this end, child giving and receiving is a positive force in Agutaynen society.

However, child giving and receiving is not without its negative side. It can put pressure on individuals and cause stress in kin relationships. How Agutaynens deal with these tensions shows the importance they place on having smooth interpersonal relationships. This is especially critical within the sibling group, which is the society's key unit and where most child giving and receiving occurs.

Appendix A. Kinship Terms

Consanguineal Kinship Terms

ENGLISH	AGUTAYNEN	AGUTAYNEN
Relationship to Ego	**Term of reference**	**Term of address**
relative	parinti	
parent(s)	ginikanan	
father	tatay	tatay, tay, papa, pa
mother	nanay§	nanay, nay, mama, ma
sibling	logod	
oldest sibling	kakan	
older sibling	aka	
younger sibling	ari	
youngest sibling	karian	
older brother	manong	manong, kuya*
older sister	manang	manang, ate*
younger brother	ari	name, a-oy, (do)doy,† dong† (all mean 'little boy')
younger sister	ari	name, a-ing, (ni)ning* (all mean 'little girl')
half-sibling by father	logod ong tatay	same as sibling
half-sibling by mother	logod ong nanay	same as sibling
child	ana	name, anao ('my child'), anggay ('sweetie')
son	ana	name, a-oy, (do)doy,† dong†
daughter	ana	name, a-ing, (ni)ning*
grandchild	ampo	
grandson	ampo	same as son
granddaughter	ampo	same as daughter
great grandchild	ampo ong tod ('grandchild by the knee')	same as son, daughter
great great grandchild	inampo	same as son, daughter
grandchild of sibling	ampo	same as son, daughter
grandfather	lolo	lolo, mama, mang + name
grandmother	lola	lola, nana, nang + name
great grandmother	pepey	pepey
great grandfather	papo	papo
nephew	angken	name, a-oy, (do)doy,† dong†
niece	angken	name, a-ing, (ni)ning*
uncle	tata, uncle, papang, tay + name	tata, uncle, papang, pang, tay + name
aunt	tata, auntie, manding,† nay + name	tata, auntie, manding,† mang, nay + name

first cousin	pinagari	
older male	pinagari, manong + name	same as older brother
older female	pinagari, manang + name	same as older sister
younger male	pinagari	same as younger brother
younger female	pinagari	same as younger sister
children of first cousin	same as nephew, niece	same as nephew, niece
first cousin of parent	same as uncle and aunt	same as uncle and aunt
children of parent's cousin (same generation)	same as cousin	same as cousin/sibling

§ If a child refers to two women as 'mother', for example his/her birth mother and his/her adoptive mother, the two women can be differentiated as:

birth mother — nanay ang matod ('real mother')

adoptive mother — nanay

They could also be differentiated by some physical characteristic:

big mother — nanay ang mabael

little mother — nanay ang ge-ley

* Borrowed Tagalog terms.

† Borrowed Cuyonon or Ilonggo terms.

Affinal Kinship Terms

ENGLISH	AGUTAYNEN	AGUTAYNEN
Relationship to Ego	**Term of reference**	**Term of address**
spouse	katawa, aroman ('companion')	
husband	katawa, aroman	name, katawao ('my spouse') tay na ('his/her father'), di
wife	katawa, aroman	name, katawao ('my spouse') nay na ('his/her mother'), mi
separated spouse	belag ong katawa	
parents-in-law	panogangan	
father-in-law	panogangan ang lali	tatay
mother-in-law	panogangan ang babay	nanay
son-in-law	minagad	name
daughter-in-law	minagad	name
brother-in-law, older	bayaw	manong + name
brother-in-law, younger	bayaw	name
sister-in-law, older	bayaw	manang + name
sister-in-law, younger	bayaw	name

grandparents of spouse	lolo/lola tang katawao ('grandfather/mother of my spouse')	lolo, lola
child's spouse's father	kompay, bali	kompay, kompadre‡
child's spouse's mother	komay, bali	komay, komadre‡

‡ Borrowed from Spanish.

Ritual Kinship Terms

These terms apply to the relationships formed between individuals of different families, through the rituals of baptisms and weddings.

ENGLISH	AGUTAYNEN	AGUTAYNEN
Relationship to Ego	**Term of reference**	**Term of address**
godfather, sponsor	ninong	ninong +/– name, maninoy
godmother, sponsor	ninang	ninang +/– name, maninay
godchild	anak	anako ('my godchild'), name
godson	anak	anako, name, a-oy, (do)doy, † dong†
goddaughter	anak	anako, name, a-ing, (ni)ning*
child's godfather	kompay	kompay, kompadre‡
child's godmother	komay	komay, komadre‡
co-godparent, male	kompay	kompay, kompadre‡
co-godparent, female	komay	komay, komadre‡
parents' godchild	idson	idson, name

* Borrowed Tagalog terms.

† Borrowed Cuyonon or Ilonggo terms.

‡ Borrowed from Spanish.

Appendix B. Chart of Case Studies

	No.of Cases	%	1	2a	2b	3a	3b	4	5	6	7a	7b	7c	8a	8b	8c	9a	9b	10a	10b	11a	11b	12	13	14	15a	15b	16	17
TYPE	(25)																												
legal	2	8					X		X																				
name change	4	16											X				(X)	X			(X)	X	X						
informal	11	44		X		X		X			X	X		X	X	X								X				X	X
temp/education	7	28	X							X									X	X					X	X	X		
foster	1	4			X																								
CHILD RECEIVER	(27)																												
married/no child	10	37				X	X	X				X	X				(X)	X			X	X	X						X
married/child	3	11		X	X																			X					
single female	13	48							X	X	X			X	X	X			X	X					X	X	X	XX	
single male	1	4	X																										
wealthy/land	3	11							X												X	X							
business	3	11		X	X																			X					
teacher	6	22	X							X									X	X						X	X		
office	5	19						X				X	X				(X)	X					X						
farmer	10	37				X	X				X			X	X	X									X			XX	X
CHILD GIVER	(25)																												
married	21	84	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		(X)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
unmarried	3	12											X			X							X						
widower	1	4			X																								
teacher	1	4							X																				
office	3	12				X				X																	X		
farmer	16	64	X	X				X			X	X		X	X		(X)	X	X	X	X	X			X	X		X	X
other	2	8																					X	X					
unemployed	3	12			X								X			X													
RELATION	(26)																												
sibling->sibling	22	84	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	(X)	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	
cousin->cousin	1	4																											X
distant relative	1	4																					X						
other	2	8					X						X																
CHILD PREF	(14)																												
female	14	100	X				X		X	X	X	X		X					X					X	X	X		XX	X
male	0	0																											
CHILD RECD/ ASKED FOR	(31)																												

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female	19	61	X				X		X	X	X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
male	12	39		X	X	X		X						X		X	X		X	X			X		X		X		
<1 year	9	29					X	X				X	X		X	X		X					X						X
2–6 years	3	10												X			X				X								
7–12 years	12	39		X	X	X				X	X								X	X		X		X	X	X		X	
13–17 years	7	23	X						X										X	X					X		XX		
FACTORS	(26)																												
land/inherit	6	23					X		X								(X)	X			X	X							X
companion	22	85	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	(X)	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
help/errands	18	69	X	X	X	X	X			X	X			X	X	X			X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X
care/old	15	58					X	X	X		X		X		X		(X)	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X	X
education	15	58	X	X	X	X		X	X	X						X	(X)	X	X	X				X		X	X	X	
socio-economic	10	38			X					X			X		X		(X)	X	X				X	X		X	X		
debt/gratitude	1	4															(X)	X											
PROXIMITY	(26)																												
next door	3	12							X		X																		X
same barangay	3	12												X	X										X				
diff barangay	4	15		X									X						X	X									
distant	16	61	X		X	X	X	X		X		X				X	(X)	X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
STATUS/CHILD	(27)																												
child returned	3	11		X		X																						X	
refused	4	15						X				X					X				X								

1, 6: Teachers asked for a child to be a companion for their elderly parents.
3b, 6: In progress.
7a represents one sister; 7b, 7c represents another sister. In case studies 7a and 7b, the two sisters asked for the same niece; 7b was refused. Later she adopted a baby born out of wedlock (case study 7c).
9a (X): This child was refused but another was given, 9b.
10a, 10b, 15a, 15b: Each X represents one family with several children who boarded with their aunt.
16: The two XX represent two single sisters living together.
STATUS/CHILD:
child returned: Children who returned, or were taken back by parents.
refused: Parents refused to give the child.

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